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THE WAYBACK CLUB

A TEXT BOOK ON PROGRESSIVEISM IN WISCONSIN

WITH AN ANALYSIS OF

INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM, RECALL.

PUBLISHED BY
CRANDON PUBLISHING CO.
CRANDON, WIS.

L. T. Crabtree

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THE WAYBACK CLUB

Meets in Mr. Jackson's general store in the village of Wayback, in Central Wisconsin. Meetings corresponding to the trips of Mr. Sellem, a traveling salesman.

The Club discusses politics—state and national—and the affairs of the world in general.

ROLL OF MEMBERS.

Mr. Sellem—a traveling salesman and his little book, in which he has been keeping tab on certain "reformers" and their peculiar doings.

Elder—a clergyman, a typical "La Follette man" who means to be fair and just but, though sometimes wavering, in the end he always relapses to his child-like faith in Bob.

Mr. Jackson—a country storekeeper.

Mr. Webber—a farmer.

Mr. Strike—the village blacksmith.

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CHAPTER I.

The Wayback Club Discusses Initiative—Referendum—Recall.

"Good evening, gentlemen. My train was late to-night and I presume the talkfest has commenced. What is the subject under consideration?"

"We are debating the matter touched upon at our last meeting, as to whether, under the primary election, Mary Ann, and corrupt practices laws, Wisconsin is now under a Republican form of government.

"The Elder holds that these several laws, as radically as they depart from former theories of a representative system of government, have made no real change. Mr. Jackson and myself, however, think that La Follette has set up an entirely new form of government in Wisconsin, so far removed from the ideas of the builders of the nation that it seems plain to us that, when they wrote the Constitution, they had in mind and tried to guard against the very political conditions now existing in Wisconsin, Oregon, and some of the other Western States."

"In that you are only partly correct, Mr. Webber. La Follette has set up a form of government in this state that is entirely different from that intended and provided by the Fathers, but it is not new. None of these political fads are new. They have all been tried out upon credulous and suffering humanity many times in the past; and the pages of history for the past twenty-five hundred years are strewn with stories of nations under popular systems of government that have been subverted by politicians using these same methods.

"In the most of the cases given in the books, these men,

counterparts of our modern politicians, usually rising from obscurity to political control by posing as the champions of the people, have ended by enslaving them. So many times did this occur in the past that, from very ancient times to the present day, 'First demagogue then despot' has been a stock phrase in many languages, describing the usual course of events.

"The man who founded this nation were exceptionally well qualified for the work. For generations their ancestors had devoted their lives and fortunes to the task of freeing the people from governmental conditions not far removed from slavery.

"The Teutonic races, of which the English, German, and Scandinavian races in this country are mixed representatives, have always been restive under monarchial rule and its restrictions on the free initiative and action of the individual. On this account, since the medieval ages, the people of the nations of Northern Europe have been in a condition of chronic unrest. The original thirteen colonies were settled largely by people who left Europe on that account.

"Within the period comprised in the 18th century, the English colonies were harbors of refuge for political refugees from all the nations of Northern Europe; and the influence of these men, very largely patriots of commanding intelligence and learning, upon political thought of the times, was very great.

"During this period, the histories of popular governments of all historical times were studied as they had never been studied before, and as they have never been studied since; and in laying the foundations of the nation they were building in the New World, the Revolutionary Fathers had, to guide them, a thorough knowledge of the experiences of democracies of all ages.

"The histories of popular governments have one general sameness. In the course of events, certain men appeared and, gaining popular applause and credit by posing as reformers to relieve the people from some real or fancied wrong or danger, ended by enslaving them. Ridpath, in his History of the World, describing a certain period in the history of Athens, says: 'The conditions of affairs in Athens were now such as to afford unusual opportunities for the ambitious citizen to become, first a demagogue, then a despot.' 'First demagogue, then despot' applies generally to the most of the reformers of history.

"The Fathers had all of this in mind when they planned our purely representative form of government, with its many checks and balances designed to prevent hasty action by temporary majorities; and to prevent centralization, without which no man or oligarchy could well subvert the government. The speeches and debates in the Constitutional Convention, and also its context, show that the greater part of the structure of the Constitution was designed to guard the nation against the two greatest dangers that have always beset popular governments in all ages; mob rule—popular passion of a temporary majority, its ideas changing with the changing ideas or needs of each new man able to excite it, ending in despotism.

"The more simple the form of government, the more danger to personal liberty and property. The most simple of all forms of governments is a despotism; next in order is an oligarchy—rule by a few men, typefied by modern political machines.

"The more complex and the less easily changed the form of government, the safer are the liberties of the common people. Knowing this, observe with what care the makers of the Constitution divided the machinery of government into three coordinate parts—legislative, judicial, and executive, each one

independent of the other two: but all three working together in harmony.

"Notice, in the methods for the election of House and Senate, the safeguards they provided against any possibility of centralization. Analyze the provisions they provided for keeping absolutely separate the three co-ordinate departments of the government, and you will find that the particular gentlemen they were putting up the bars against was the 'First demagogue, then despot' of all historical times.

"The Fathers, who were building a nation that was to endure for ages, had just emerged from the terrible struggle of the Revolutionary War, in which they had risked their lives and fortunes that the people might be free. It is certain that they builded as well as they knew: and well they knew the rocks upon which all popular governments of the past had foundered.

"They provided that the members of the lower house of Congress should be elected by popular suffrage to serve for two years, so that, coming fresh from the people, with short terms, they would be familiar with their needs and wishes and responsive to their demands. Ordinarily this would have been sufficient: but in the wisdom of their knowledge that if the nation they were building was to withstand all the waves of unreasoning popular clamor that would dash against it in the ages to come, the rights of the minority, the under dog of all popular governments, must be safeguarded, they added new and unusual features to the ordinary structure of democratic governments.

"For this purpose they provided the Senate, and in the manner of the election of its members and their long terms, they tried to remove them as far as possible from being swayed by unreasoning waves of popular clamor. They provided that the smaller states should have the same representation as the

larger; and in this we have the most important function of the National Senate, to protect and represent the minority and act as the balance wheel of the nation.

"In all the eternal strivings for supremacy among the members of the animal kingdom, there is nothing more heartless and cruel than the conduct of a temporary majority towards the minority. In a million votes the majority may not exceed the minority more than a few hundred, and that may be reversed at the next election; but while it is in control the brutal majority considers that the minority has no rights that it is in any way bound to respect.

"Nevertheless, in their haste to change the form of government of the nation so that they, with their present control of the run of popular passions, may rule without let or hindrance, the self-styled Progressive politicians are trying to wipe out this national safeguard provided, in their wisdom, by the Revolutionary Fathers; and have the Senators elected by direct popular vote—by mass meeting.

"To accomplish this object the Progressive politicians seem to be doing their best to destroy all semblance of national patriotism. In their speeches, newspaper and magazine articles, and every place where they can get a hearing, they are trying to prove that the Constitution, that has safely carried the nation through many dangers for a hundred and twenty-five years, is merely an ancient relic, good enough, perhaps, for the old backwoods statesmen, but not to be considered at all in these modern Progressive times. Anyway, they have thought of something better and the people seem to be more than anxious to try the new political medicine recommended by the political doctors.

"One deplorable result of this so-called progressive propa-

ganda is the nearly entire loss of that party spirit, so highly commended by George Washington and others of the Revolutionary Fathers that, more than anything else, has been instrumental in fostering and building up that spirit of patriotism that has always been so marked among the people of the nation; and the substitution in its place, by several great groups of voters, of adoration and personal fealty to one man. Such things as La Fallette men, Roosevelt men, and other men's 'men' are entirely new in our political history. This, as the past histories of nations so well show, is a very dangerous national condition; and it is the principal cause of the continually recurring revolutions among the people of Spanish blood in the nations to the south of us.

"In former times, political principles were the result of national conditions; they were usually a long time in the making before they were adopted by any party, and the dividing line between the great political parties has nearly always had to do with certain phases of national policies as wide as the nation itself. Adoration and blind following of a mere man in the place of party in political conflicts is a new thing in politics in the nation.

"There are yet millions of voters in the land who, as Republicans or Democrats, still adhere to their old party principles, and who decline to be branded as any man's 'man.' Recent political happenings, however, indicate that political power is passing into the hands of groups of voters who elect to be known as the professional followers of one man to a group, and who imbibe their political principles from him daily, as the babe imbibes its milk from its mother's breast. Whether this peculiar political condition has come to stay or not prob-

ably depends mostly upon the development of stump oratory in the immediate future.

"The result of this state of affairs is that the man to whom any of these different groups of voters looks up to as an oracle, or a prophet, has but to state any new political principle, or a formula for a principle, perhaps decocted over night, and his followers take up the thing and it becomes a thing to stir the nation to its uttermost depths. One of the latest of these made-while-you-wait new things in political principles is initiative—referendum—recall.

"As an additional safeguard, in constructing the machinery of the judicial department, the Fathers provided that the judges, who were to interpret and see to the orderly execution of the laws, should be, as far as possible, removed from being, either in their election or tenor of office, effected by popular clamor and passion; and until within the last decade, in all the laws effecting the judiciary, law makers, state and national, have worked along those lines.

"Contrary to what the men of the new school of politicians are now trying to make the people believe, partly by inference and partly by direct statements, the judges do not make the laws. Their office is to interpret them, to try to get at what the law makers intended and declare the fact; and with the low grade of men who are often sent to legislatures and even to the National Congress, this is often no easy thing to do.

"Often laws of the most far-reaching importance are so involved in construction and obscure in meaning that, in trying to get at the real intent of the law makers in framing them, the judges have to incorporate, in their decisions, matter which is very near new legislation. That has always been the case, however, and is well understood as being necessary to prevent

legal confusion of the worst kind; but in all decisions of this character, the judges have always followed the Constitution, the basic law of the nation. In these cases, if the judicial interpretation was not correct, or if any hardship was entailed upon any person or to any public interest, the legislature could always make the necessary correction at the next session.

"Now, instead of interpreting the laws according to the Constitution, the Progressive politicians would have all judges try to keep pace with all of the present day, up to the minute, lightning changes in popular political fancies, regardless of the Constitution or the written laws. To this end, they demand that laws be enacted applying mass meeting methods to the selection of and the tenor of office of the judges; making it easy to, forthwith, remove from office any judge who makes a ruling or a decision that, though it be strictly according to law, does not please the particular popular political fad that happens to be on tap at that particular day and hour, and install in his place the favorite of the mass meeting.

"Here I will call your attention to a fact, in relation to the general complaint against the laws delays and the unreasonable expenses of court trials, that forms the basis of the most of the contention of the Progressives for the judicial recall; and that is that the Legislature of Wisconsin or any other state has full power to remove, by simple laws, any and all of the judicial faults complained of.

"If he had wished it done, La Follette could have had the Legislature provide for an entirely new course of procedure for all of the courts during the session of either one of the last two legislatures, thus removing the most of the laws delays and others of the judicial abuses and shortcomings. Why did he not do it?

"For several months, La Follette's Weekly has been running a series of articles on these subjects—the laws delays and judicial abuses. Instead of doing this, why did not Editor La Follette have the Legislature actually reform something there that would have removed some of the burdens from the laboring men and farmers?

"There is nothing more certain, gentlemen, than that, by the enactment of a few simple laws that will be constitutional without question, our Legislature can simplify court practice and procedure so as to remove all complaints as to the laws delays. Why has it not been done?

"The reason why it has not been done is not hard to understand. A very large proportion of the active La Follette politicians are young lawyers, trained for the work at Van Hise's spellbinder factory. 'The laws delays' are their stock in trade; and, in their budding reformer stages, to make the administration of the laws any simpler would so reduce their incidental sources of income that many of them would have to quit reforming and go to work. Perish the thought!

"But going back to the main subject of discourse: The constitutional provisions dividing the machinery of the national government into three co-ordinate departments, each separate and distinct from the other two, are our national bulwarks of safety. The legislative department makes the laws, the judicial department interprets and applies them; and the executive department sees that the legislative requirements are carried out.

"That is the procedure provided by the Constitution, the basic law of the nation; and, notwithstanding the continual assaults that are, in these hysterical days, being made upon them by politicians with axes to grind, our courts will continue to be in the future, as they have in the past, the only protection

the common people will have against political enslavement and practical confiscation of property through abnormally high taxes levied to support great political organizations, as is now so much the tendency in Wisconsin.

"The general affirmative stand taken by the courts of the land upon the principle that existing personal and property rights, guaranteed by the Constitution, shall be maintained inviolate against those who would change our whole governmental machinery over night to conform to the visionary ideas of a small minority of the people, laboring under any popular fallacy created by demagogic agitators, is the principal reason of the anxiety of certain gentlemen—purveyors of new lines of political thought—for the institution into our system of government of the new triple fad,—initiative—referendum—recall.

"Of the three propositions, indicated by the three words, initiative is a law whereby a small percentage of the electors—in practice, between eight and twenty-five per cent. of the normal vote—can compel the legislature to enact any kind of a law, fool or otherwise, that they may put up to 'demanding.'

"When we reflect upon the well-known fact that most people will sign almost any kind of a petition that is placed before them; and that one industrious person could easily get the necessary number of signers to an initiative petition demanding any kind of a law upon almost any subject, the evil that can easily come from the initiative end of the proposition will be apparent to any one who stops to think of it.

"Of all things, we do not need any new laws of any kind. The last legislature enacted something like 665 entirely new laws, and at least six hundred of them were entirely unnecessary.

"Except for the well-known fact that no more than from

eight to fifteen per cent. of the voters will vote on any proposition, either at a primary election or on any occasion except at the regular November election, the referendum is not of any particular significance.

"As, under the primary election laws, eight to fifteen per cent. of the electorate is enough to give the Progressives political control in any state where they have their machines organized upon approval, up-to-the-minute lines, that is so that it is supported by the taxpayers, I am at a loss to understand what our Progressive gentlemen want of the initiative and referendum in their business.

"With the recall it is different, and in that word and proposition lies the greatest danger to our nation that has arisen since it was founded one hundred and twenty-five years ago.

"Though usually put before the people so as to strike upon the ear and understanding, each as a separate word, the proper position in which to place the words indicating this new-old fad in government is as a three-word, hyphenated phrase; thus, initiative—referendum—recall. Certainly, in the last analysis, but one proposition is involved; and that is by skillfully devised legislative enactments, without amending or changing it, to nullify the most important provisions of the Federal Constitution.

"Now, gentlemen, bear this in mind: The true reason why the self-styled Progressive statesmen of these latter days are so anxious for the introduction into our state and national legal systems of the initiative—referendum—recall, and the many strange and queer election laws that are being proposed by them somewhere every few months, is that if they succeed in getting these and a few others of their progressive laws grafted

upon the states and nation, they will, as far as the states under their control are concerned, have overcome and nullified the constitutional requirements that the three co-ordinate departments of the government shall be kept forever separate and distinct; and they will have combined them into one; and the government will be the political machine that chances to be in control of the state.

"If these things should be accomplished and one of the Progressive politicians be elected President, he will have immediate and absolute control over all departments of the government; and the form of government of this nation will then not be Republican, as now, but a government by one man—a despotism, or by a small clique of men—an oligarchy. And this momentous change will have been made without the Constitution having been amended or any of its provisions having been even technically violated."

"Mr. Sellem, you are going to the last extreme of absurdity! How can that be possible—overcome the constitutional provisions and not violate them?"

"Have patience, Elder, and I will explain so that you will understand. Man's nature and desires have not changed in many long ages—thousands of years; but he has learned to do things differently than he did a few thousand years ago. Formerly, an ambitious politician out of a job armed his followers with the weapons of war in use at the time, organized them into armies; and when he thought he had strong enough following, made war upon the existing government. If successful he assumed supreme power, rewarded his followers with the offices and taxed the people to raise money with which to support his newly established government.

"This method, however, entailed considerable trouble upon

both leader and followers; and the risk that if they failed they might be run through with the sword, or hung, or beheaded: either one of which is rather a painful and mussey method of getting hence. So our late modern revolutionary gentlemen, intending to subvert existing governments, have devised a way that is much easier, entirely devoid of personal danger; and the only risk entailed is that, if they fail, they may have to go to work. The people, however, cannot profit by modern methods but get the taxes piled upon them, just as in ancient times.

"Until within the past decade, there has never been any movement or agitation worthy of general attention looking to radically changing our system of government. It has withstood the shocks of four great foreign wars and one civil war—the greatest of history; but all of these assaults by domestic traitors and foreign foes have never so much as shaken the rock foundations of the nation—the Constitution.

"To provide for conditions arising incident to national growth and changing modern conditions, the Constitution has been amended from time to time; but the basic principle and national safety device, the absolute and permanent separation of the three co-ordinate, legislative, judicial, and executive departments has never been directly attacked until within the past few years by the Progressive politicians.

"Now, however, certain gentlemen, finding the Constitution a bar against their plans to use the states as financial backers to their personal political organizations, avoiding the national uprising that a direct attack upon it would cause, have devised a way to nullify it and to undermine the very foundations of the nation, in case their plans succeed, without arousing the people to a knowledge of the national disaster pending.

"These men, the Progressive politicians, are trying to nul-

lify the Constitution, the foundation stone of the nation; and the various radical election laws that they are now engaged in trying out in Wisconsin, Oregon, and some of the other Western States; the whole evil brood culminating in initiative—referendum—recall, are the instruments with which they propose to do the job.

"As would be expected of such an undertaking, to be worked out without arousing national consciousness of danger, the ways and means they have taken to achieve such tremendous results are very devious and crooked. Beginning with the primary laws, the different laws they have put on the statute books in Wisconsin and Oregon, in the past eight or ten years, though not put forward in their regular order, are all parts of the general scheme. Now that we have them all before us, however, we can see that they are most skillfully devised for the work they have to do; and we cannot but admire the genius of the man who invented the ingenious scheme to nullify and override the Constitution without openly attacking or amending it.

"These radical or Progressive election laws have been sprung one at a time in such a manner that people have not generally noticed the close connection between them. Now that they are all in, however, and we can study them as a whole, they are found to form a comprehensive scheme of laws, dovetailing one into another so perfectly that it is plain to be seen that they comprise one general plan, devised by one man or by several men working together.

"First there appeared the primary election law in Wisconsin, later same thing in Oregon; corrupt practices act and political pamphlet extravagance in Oregon, same thing later in Wisconsin. Now Oregon has the full initiative—referendum—

recall, and as soon as our Progressives?, aided by La Follette's Weekly, can work up the feelings of the people to the proper heat against our courts, Wisconsin will get that in its entirety. Last thing, La Follette's Mary Ann law is being 'tried on the dog' in Wisconsin, and no doubt Oregon gets that next.

"With his powerful organization, made possible by the primary election law, supported by taxes collected from the people of the state, these laws seem sufficient to give the La Follette machine permanent control of the state. Then, with Senator Bourne's bill enacted into law, requiring a unanimous vote of the Judges of the United States Supreme Court to decide, adversely, any constitutional question arising under either state or national laws, the Progressive Constitutional Nullification League will be in control of the nation. When that time arrives, the complete nullification of the constitutional provisions requiring that the legislative, judicial, and executive departments of the government shall be kept separate and distinct will have been accomplished. Then, with initiative—referendum—recall in operation in the states under their control, the new Progressive gentlemen now much in the public eye—and ear—will be the government; and the people living in their states will be absolutely deprived of the protection of the National government, guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.

"Senator Bourne's bill, which seems to be near the last of the series of laws needed by these gentlemen to achieve this tremendous result, is not a law yet, but either that or some similar measure will be enacted into law if the Progressives succeed in electing a President in 1912, and in controlling both houses of Congress.

"We, of Wisconsin, well know how the progressive election laws operate to make absolute the rule of the political boss

and the machine; but this proposed Bourne law, reaching to the Constitution and muzzling the United States Supreme Court, perils the very foundation of liberty in the nation."

"What are the provisions of the Bourne bill?"

"They are simple and the bill is short. It provides that to decide adversely upon the constitutionality of any law of Congress or of the states the unanimous vote of the judges of the United States Supreme Court will be necessary. I have a copy of the bill here and will read the important part of it.

"The bill is numbered S. 3222, of the 62nd Congress. It was introduced in the Senate by Senator Bourne, Aug. 14th, 1911, and refered to the Committee on Judiciary, Aug. 16th, 1911. It is entitled: 'A bill to provide rules for speedy and final decisions of questions concerning the constitutionality of National and State laws. * * *

> 'Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled,
>
> 'That in any action, suit or proceeding in the Supreme Court of the United States when the constitutionality of any provision of a Federal or State law, or of a State constitution, shall be drawn in question or decided, the constitutionality thereof shall be sustained unless the Supreme Court, by unanimous decision of all its members qualified to sit in the cause, shall determine that the provision in controversy is not authorized or is prohibited by the Constitution of the United States. * * *'

"There is more to the bill, not essential to the subject matter as, like certain other venomous things, the sting is in the front end. Though introduced by Senator Bourne, the bill is so plainly a part of, and the complement of, the series of Progressive laws of which we are speaking, that their common

authorship is apparent; and there is no doubt that this Bourne bill was devised and constructed somewhere between Doc McCarthy's bill factory in the State House and the executive offices in the University.

"The bill was not pressed for passage, simply introduced and referred to the proper committee. When political conditions are favorable, it can be quietly enacted into law without attracting any particular attention—and the shackles will be riveted to the giant's limbs.

"Short and innocent appearing as the bill is, if enacted into law it will contain more dynamic possibilities of danger to the liberties of the people than any bill or measure that has ever appeared in either house of Congress.

"There is no doubt that the bill was construeted and introduced with the idea of taking a chance at some ultra Progressive being elected President in 1912; and if such a miserable thing should happen, there is no doubt that means would be found to get one of the Progressive lawyers on the United States Supreme Court Bench without any delay.

"With the Bourne bill, or some similar measure enacted into law and their control of legislation in Wisconsin, the La Follette organization could take advantage of any popular fallacy—of their own creation, enact any kind of a law for the confiscation of private property, as did the Legislature last session in confiscating the water powers of the state; and no matter how unjust or how repugnant to the provisions of the Constitution, if they owned one of the Supreme Court judges, the law would stand:—regardless of the provisions of the Federal Constitution guaranteeing the lives and property of all the citizens of the Nation; and all the citizens of Wisconsin—and Oregon—

would be shorn of the protection of their Bill of Rights and every provision of the National Constitution.

"I repeat, that with the present tend of legislation in the so-called Progressive states, no measure clothed with such possibilities of danger to the liberties of the people has ever appeared in either house of Congress.

"I challenge your whole line of argument, Mr. Sellem. No such things as you suggest were ever contemplated or are possible under these Progressive laws!"

"Well, Well! Here's a private little indignation meeting all by its lonesome self. I don't blame you for getting in a state of mind over it, Elder. It does not seem possible that, in this day and age, such things can be; but the different laws leading up to the final conclusion that I have given are as plain as the English language can make them.

"Under the laws now on the statute books of the state, lacking only the full initiative-referendum-recall, if the Bourne bill or some similar measure is enacted into law and the Progressives are given full control of the nation, confiscation of private property by the state, under any method the Legislature may see fit to prescribe, and entirely regardless of the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, will have been fully provided for. Oregon has all of the necessary laws now and needs only legislative action to render rights to private property as unstable as the vagaries of present day politics.

"To show you that I am right, I will give you a moot, or supposititious law for the confiscation of private property by the state, and legal action under the law. I will assume that such a law will be enacted by the Wisconsin Legislature of 1913; presuming that we then have the full initiative-referendum-recall; the recall applying to the judges; and, also, that

the Bourne bill or some similar measure has been enacted into law.

"I presume you will concede, Elder, that after showing their absolute control of their followers by polling the full La Follette vote for a dead man, as they did for dead man Tucker in the primary election of 1910, and their perfect control of the 1911 Legislature, there is no doubt that the La Follette machine can enact any law or kind of a law that the leaders desire?"

"Yes, I will concede that."

"That being established, we will take a prophetic look into the future: and assume that a dyed-in-the-wool Progressive will be elected President in 1912; that the Bourne bill or some similar measure will be enacted into law; that the Progressives will control both houses of Congress; and that the Progressive organization retains control of Wisconsin.

"Under these conditions, we will assume that the Wisconsin Legislature of 1913 enacts the following law:

'Chapter 825, Laws of 1913.

An act—to provide for the confiscation and re-distribution of land.

The people of the State of Wisconsin, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

Section 1.—Beginning with January 1st, 1914, the following division and distribution of all the land in the state, except lands owned by the state and the State University, is ordered: On that date, for the purposes of this law, all land owned by private individuals, firms, and corporations is hereby declared to revert to the state; all legal titles in land being extinguished.

Section 2.—Every farmer, or other person, firm or corporation, having had ownership in said land, shall have returned to him, of that which he shall have been dispossessed, a plat

of land of his former holdings not exceeding forty acres, for which the patent of the state shall be issued.

Section 3.—If, under the operation of this act, a person shall be dispossessed of more than one house and lot, he will be allowed to select whichever house and lot of his former holdings he elects to have returned to him.

Section 4.—After the moities granted to former owners of land shall have been deducted, all the land remaining shall be divided pro ratio among the people, citizens of the state, who have no ownership in land.

Section 5.—A commission called the Public Land Distribution Commission, consisting of five members to be appointed by the Governor, shall have full charge of the work under the terms of this act. The members of this commission shall be paid a salary of $7,500 per year and all traveling and incidental expenses. They shall appoint such assistants and at such rates of pay as they see fit; and they shall serve until removed by the appointing power.

This act shall take effect upon approval and publication.

Approved April 1st, 1913.'

"After this Public Land Distribution Act is in full effect and operation, John Johnson, owner of a fine farm of eighty acres, the fruits of a lifetime of hard work, having his 'back forty' taken from him under the operation of the law, sues to retain his land under his constitutional rights and guarantees. He is upheld by the circuit court which pronounces the law unconstitutional.

"Now the Progressive leaders start the 'recall' against the circuit judge who renders the decision, putting up a Progressive against him. They easily recall the offending judge, and, by

the same election, the Progressive lawyer is made judge of the district.

"The state then demands a re-hearing, which is granted, and upon a new trial the Progressive judge decides that the law stands and that farmer Johnson loses his land. He then appeals to the state supreme court and the judges there decide that the law is unconstitutional.

"The judicial 'recall' is again invoked by the Progressives, the Supreme Court judges are 'recalled,' and Progressive judges are elected to succeed them. The state again demands a re-hearing and the Supreme Court judges, now Progressive, adjudge that, under the law, Farmer Johnson loses his land.

"Upon high constitutional grounds, his rights to private property guaranteed by the Federal Constitution, Farmer Johnson takes his case to the United States Supreme Court—his last resort—but, the Bourne bill has become a law; a Progressive President has appointed one of his men to the Supreme Court bench; this being a constitutional case, cannot be decided adversely except by unanimous vote of the judges, and one of the judges is a Progressive, bound to play the game according to progressive rules—that is, do as he is told to do. We know how that works in Wisconsin. Farmer Johnson finds the doors of the court of last resort shut against him; and that loved back forty goes to a shiftless individual who votes, but who never had gumption enough in all his life to acquire land or anything else.

"Though this is a supposititious case, who shall say, with certainty and conviction, that similar cases will not arise in the near future? With the judicial recall grafted upon our legal-judicial system, as demanded by these purveyors of political new thought, the Bourne bill or some similar measure enacted into law, and the Progressives in control of state and

nation, the procedure that I have outlined would be the regular course through the lower courts, and its disastrous ending against the shut doors of the United States Supreme Court, of a case arising in Wisconsin or Oregon under a law for the confiscation of private property.

"With the confiscatory tendencies shown by the last Legislature, if it should look as though likely to add to the strength of the Progressive organization, who will say with conviction that, with the addition of the initiative-referendum-recall to our statutes, laws for the confiscation of private property to the state will not be enacted in the very near future? Only a little farther to go, a few more 'advances,' and the supposititious law that I have cited will be easy for a Wisconsin Progressive Legislature to enact.

"This case, arising under a supposititious law for the confiscation of private property in land, is only one of the many that may come up under Progressive, or Socialistic-Progressive, rule in the immediate future: and the danger to private property interests does not nearly all lie in the direction of the case cited. To illustrate, I will give you another supposititious case along another line. The Legislature of 1913 enacts:

'Chapter 1025, Laws of 1913.

An act—to regulate corporations, firms, and individual employers of labor.

The people of the State of Wisconsin, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

After January 1st, 1914, no corporation, private firm, or individual, giving employment to more than ten individuals, shall, without the express written permission of the State Industrial Commission, go out of business or otherwise permanently reduce the number of individuals on its pay roll to a greater

extent than ten per cent of the average number employed during the preceding twelve month. Any corporation, firm, or individual violating the provisions of this act shall forfeit to the state all of the property, personal and real, used in the plant or other business organization in which the employes under the case are employed.

To take effect and be in force after its passage and publication.

Approved April 1st, 1913.'

"Now, don't take a running jump into the middle of that, Elder, as things of the kind have been advocated by different Progressives more than once in the not distant past. One of the early Progressives, a man of national prominence, once made the statement in a public speech that one holding the position of an employer of labor should be compelled, by law, to continue to give employment, indefinitely, to men once in his employ.

"When the time comes that our Wisconsin Progressives find power slipping from them they may combine with the Socialists—'birds of a feather easily flock together'—and things like the above may happen in Wisconsin. The Socialists are ready for such work at any time when they have the power, and it will require only a few more 'advances' for the Progressives to enact laws confiscating private property in land or taking over industrial establishments without compensation.

"Then with the Bourne bill or some similar measure enacted into law, the full initiative-referendum-recall in force in the state; and a straightout Progressive or Socialistic-Progressive state administration, a case arising under a law for the taking over of industrial establishments would take the same course

through the state courts and meet the disastrous finish against the shut doors of the United States Supreme Court as did the case of Farmer Johnson and his back forty.

"Of course all good 'La Follette men' will exclaim, in chorus, that such things as the laws that I have cited are simply preposterous, absurd!—but neither they nor their lawyers can deny, with truth, that, with the Bourne bill or some similar measure enacted into a national law: and the full initiative-referendum-recall in force in the state, as demanded by the Progressives, the victims of state confiscation laws would fail to get relief in any of the state courts and, as a last resort, if they attempted to take advantage of the protection to life, liberty and property guaranteed by the Federal Constitution, they would find the doors of the United States Supreme Court shut against them. With national recall of judicial decisions, as proposed by Theodore Roosevelt, the effect would be precisely the same, though the procedure would be different.

"With such laws in force, there can be no denial of the fact that the state could confiscate private property and leave the loser without recourse in any court of the land; and the mere lack of the will to do this will be the only protection the farmers and other owners of real estate will have. In these troublesome times, with the dubious kind of men rising to the top in political matters; with the vast electorate of discontented, landless voters, largely outnumbering those owning land, is it safe to take such chances?

"**Wealth is only relative. You farmers with your eighty acre and quarter section farms look with envy upon the vast fortunes of the Morgans and Rockefellers; but the tramp who calls at your back door and asks for a hand-out, and the members of the seething millions of the poor who dwell in the great**

cities look, with the same envious feelings, often seen through mists the color of blood, upon your broad acres and comfortable homes.

"In following the political teachings of those who urge you to their support, promising to show you how to despoil those who rank, as the very rich, high above you in the social scale, beware lest you go too far and assist in opening the gates to the spoiler who looks upon your possessions as his lawful prey! The same Roosevelts and La Follettes who are now campaigning under red bandana handkerchiefs and other emblems which they assume to represent the farmers as a class, may in a few years be making heart moving campaigns over the nation for the landless man; urging laws that will take the surplus land from the plutocratic farmers and give it to the landless millions.

"For within the life span of the generation now coming upon the world's stage there will arise a political movement, due to the fast growing universal land hunger, that will stir the nations deeper than any other political movement of history. That issue may be with us in the near future if the judicial recall is generally grafted upon the legal systems of states and nation.

"I will here restate my original proposition, that with the full complement of Progressive election laws, including the judicial recall, and a national law making the unanimous vote of the United States Supreme Court judges necessary to decide adversely any law of state or nation whose constitutionality is called in question; or a national referendum on decisions of the United States Supreme Court, as proposed by Theodore Roosevelt; and the plain citizen will be stripped of the protection thrown around him by the Federal Constitution; and, shorn of

his Bill of Rights, he will stand in the same position that his forefathers stood before Magna Charta, seven hundred years ago, shorn of protection to life and property by the courts, without any protection except such as the ruling oligarchy may be pleased to accord him.

"And then the question arises, what is the row all about? What are the common people, for whom the reformers all claim the whole thing is for, going to get out of it? Right here, as germane to the subject, I am going to read from President Taft's letter of acceptance of the nomination for President in 1912.

" 'But after we have changed all of the governmental machinery so as to permit of instantaneous expression of the people in constitutional amendments, and in the recall of public agents, what then? Votes are not bread, constitutional amendments are not work, referendums do not pay rent, or furnish houses, initiatives do not supply employment or relieve inequalities of condition or opportunity. We still ought to have set before us the definite plans to bring equality of opportunity and to abolish hardship and evil for humanity. We listen for them in vain

" 'Instead of giving us the benefit of any specific remedies for the hardships and evils of society they point out, they follow their urgent appeals for closer association of the people in legislation by an attempt to cultivate the hostility of the people to the courts, and to represent that they, in some form, are upholding injustice and are obstructing the popular will. Attempts are made to take away all those safeguards for maintaining the independence of the judiciary which are so carefully framed in the Constitution.

" 'The Republican party stands for the Constitution as it

is, with such amendments, adopted according to its provisions, as new conditions, thoroughly understood, may require. We believe that it has stood the test of time and that there have been disclosed no very serious defects in its operation.

"'It is said that this is not an issue in the campaign. It seems to me that it is the supreme issue. * * *

"'The Republican party is the nucleus of that public opinion which favors constant progress and development along safe and sane lines, and under the Constitution as we have had it for more than 100 years, and which believes in an independent judiciary as the keystone of our liberties, and the balance wheel by which the whole governmental machinery is kept within the original plan.'

"Those, gentlemen, are the words of a man who speaks from an experience of many years as a judge on the bench of the high courts of the nation, and from a long experience in different high official positions in the government before he became President. He speaks also as a man and a citizen, with no thought in his mind but the best interests of all of the people of the nation. In these few paragraphs, he hits off the situation exactly when he asks as to wherein are the people going to profit by all of these revolutionary laws, and this agitation that has kept the whole nation in a turmoil for years. There is no question of the fact suggested by President Taft that the agitation, carried to its full conclusion, means a complete change in our system and form of government. And when the thing is done, Bob La Follette and Charley Van Hise can truly say, paraphrasing the immortal remark of the immortal George, 'We did it with our little progressive laws.'

"Deny it as they may, these Progressive laws provide, though deviously, for the complete nullification of those sections

of the Federal Constitution that are the most important to the freedom of the private individual and the protection and security of his property. All of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention show that the fathers considered these points of the utmost importance to the continuation, as a free nation, of the government that they were building.

"Do any of you believe that, after all of the radical socialistic agitation by the makers of these laws, with which we have been so familiar for the past ten years; laws that have been in process of making in widely separated states at the same time, that this significant culmination is without any definite bearing except upon purely local affairs? Taken alone, they seem so but taken all together, with proposed national legislation, they will operate to take from the private citizen the most important of all—his Bill of Rights, guaranteed by the Federal Constitution.

"Does it look as though this was a purely accidental outcome that a number of laws, enacted in different states in different years, should, at the last, be found, taken in connection with the one proposed national law, proposed by one of the men chiefly instrumental in securing the passage of some of the state laws, to effect a complete nullification of that section of the Federal Constitution most directly safeguarding the private property rights of the citizen. Bearing in mind the socialistic agitation within this same period, does it not look rather as though these laws were designed by one man, or by several men working together with the design to accomplish this very object?"

"I must admit that your analysis of the Progressive laws looks to be correct, Mr. Sellem. The dangerous results that all

of the laws may lead to cannot have been accidental. There must have been design."

"Do you believe that the designers of the laws in question, one of whom was certainly Senator La Follette, must have known what the full complement of election laws could be made to accomplish?"

"As to that, I prefer not to answer at this time. I wish to have more time to think it over."

"Certainly, take all the time you wish; and while you are studying the question, consider these things: Here is our state ruled, through these election laws in question, by a tight little political organization, numbering less than a dozen men, with their followers, constituting no more than between ten and fifteen per cent of the voters. The most of the leaders having no interest in land except a house and lot, and some of them perhaps not even that, depending for their living upon the salaries paid them by the state. Many thousands of their followers owning no real property of any kind, and thousands more owning only a house and lot, which all Socialistic teachers and preachers claim every man is entitled to under our present social system. Take all of this into consideration and you can easily see the setting for the tragedy.

"No doubt every man in the first named class would be more than willing to receive a free donation of land. Partly from their class associations with the men of the first named class, and partly for other reasons well known to us all, a large majority of the men in the second named class would be glad to help along such a movement.

"The teachings of the Progressive politicians are in many ways pure socialism; and we know that, largely due to their work, socialism is increasing rapidly in Wisconsin. Also there

is no question that pure socialism and progressiveism are rapidly approaching each other. At the last session of the Legislature, the Socialistic leaders were given such high standing by the Progressive leaders that it looked, at times, as though the expected merger had taken place. Under great political need, it might take place at any time.

"Taking all of these things into consideration, do you believe it is safe to confer such unlimited power over private property upon a group of mere politicians, none of whom are any better, if no worse, than the ordinary run of professional office seekers with whom we are all familiar?"

"In order that you may fully understand the question, I will restate it. A powerful political organization in control of the state, able, through its primary election law, to keep its leading members permanently in public office; and, by virtue of its ability to nominate at the primary elections, a majority of both houses of the Legislature, permanently in control of the law making and tax levying power. A drastic corrupt practices law, the full intent and effect of which is to practically shut out any party or faction from ever ousting them from office and political control. With this and the fact that this all-powerful political organization is confessedly subject to the orders of less than a dozen, with the final, ultimate authority probably vested in one man; will you deny, Elder, that Wisconsin is not now under a republican form of government? Will you deny that it is ruled by an oligarchy?"

"Well, I must confess that you have probably stated the case about as it is."

"With initiative-referendum-recall grafted upon our legal-judicial system, these dozen men could, under existing political conditions, 'initiate' any kind of a law and enact it, 'refer'

it and secure its ratification at the referendum election. Then if the courts decide that any of their laws are unconstitutional, these same dozen men can proceed to start the 'recall' on the judges, remove just judges and put their own men on the bench in their places all the way to the State Supreme Court. So that under this system, with initiative-referendum-recall in full force, this small group of men, comprised in the Inner Circle, would be, even more than now, the government of the state.

"Armed with the judicial recall, this same small group of Progressive politicians would hold in their hands the future of every man in the state possessed of property, able to make or break them at its will; and as in this supposititious case of a law for the confiscation and distribution of private property in land, there would be no power in state or nation that could control them. But going back to the case under consideration.

"Under such conditions, as in the case arising under the supposititious law for the re-distribution of land, a citizen, injured by unjust and inequitable laws, would fail to obtain relief in any of the state courts; and the Bourne bill or some similar Progressive measure enacted into law would shut the doors of the United States Supreme Court against him—bar him from the remedies provided in their wisdom, by the fathers when they built the old Constitution.

"Thus, by one national law and a few skilfully contrived state laws, all of the courts in the land could be put out of business, as far as protection to private property from mobocracy and demagogues would be concerned; and the absolute power over property, even life itself, would rest in the little group of politicians who controlled the factional organiza-

tion that ruled the state. Do you believe, Elder, that any situation, political or industrial, that has ever arisen in the land will warrant the bestowal of such terrible power upon a group of mere men?"

"There can be but one answer to that question. No such power should be given to any men or organization."

"Included in that proposition is the further one that, under the thimblerigging methods possible under the primary election law, the Progressive organization in this state, that would thus be endowed with nearly absolute rule and power over the lives and property of the citizens, was put in power, and is kept in power, by the slimsiest minority that it can be imagined an intelligent people would submit to.

"To state it in figures, by the United States census of 1910, there were, in round numbers, 683,000 men of voting age in the state April 15th of that year. Making a full, fair reduction from this number of those who were not qualified to vote will leave 650,000 legal voters in the state at the time of the September primary election of that year.

"Though opposed by the stalwart Republicans under the management of W. D. Connor, the best political organizer in the state, F. E. McGovern, La Follette candidate for governor in that year 1910, was only able to poll 82,265 votes; and the general vote for the other La Follette candidates for state officers showed that to be very nearly the total La Follette or Progressive vote in the state.

"Eighty-two thousand two hundred sixty-five is twelve and one-half per cent of 650,000; and under the division and sub-division of parties caused by the cunningly contrived primary election law twelve and one-half per cent of the voters of the state selected the governor and all of the other state

officers and, by the same token, the members of the Legislature of 1911; and you know what that Legislature did to our poor Wisconsin. R. M. La Follette, candidate in the primary election for the nomination for United States senator, polled 142,978 votes; but, as you all know, his old 'fair minded Democratic' friends always turn out and vote for him to the number of about 40,000. As in 1910, the results of other elections show the total voting strength of the Progressives in the state to be about 85,000.

"As the Republican party is largely in the majority in the state, the successful candidates of that party are, under normal conditions, certain of election at the November election; so that the real election as well as nomination of the state officers is made at the September primary election; and, as I have shown, this selection is made by about twelve to thirteen per cent of the voters of the state. As the senatorial and assembly districts are well looked after by the Inner Circle, the practical election of the Progressive majority in both houses of the Legislature is made by practically the same small minority of the voters.

"Added to the danger of this rule by a small minority is the fact that the Progressive machine can vote practically all of its followers on any proposition; as was well shown by their ability to vote their full strength for a dead man, as they did for dead man Tucker, their candidate for attorney-general at the primary election of 1910. Tucker committed suicide three days before election and, in spite of the fact that the voters, almost to a man, knew, two days before the election, that he was dead, instructions sent out to precinct bosses by the Inner Circle that they were to vote their followers for the dead man, showed by the results that about

every 'La Follette man' did as he was bidden to do. I assert, without fear of successful contradiction, that no such slavish subserviency to the orders of a political boss is on record in any state in the nation.

"What I am getting at is that under existing political conditions in Wisconsin, with their control of between eighty-two and eighty-five thousand votes, a much larger number than can be polled under any other consideration, or at any other time except at the regular November election, the operation of the initiative, the referendum, or the recall in Wisconsin will be simply to register the will of Bob La Follette or that of the dozen or so men in control of the organization. So that the incorporation of the initiative-referendum-recall into our election machinery means, under present political conditions, the passing of a Republican form of government in Wisconsin, and the substitution in its place of an oligarchy of a few men, able to make or break, at its pleasure, the people who reside in the state.

"Added to the demoralizing effect that the uncertainty and instability of the laws, under initiative-referendum-recall, will have upon the general business of the country—and the common laborer suffers more from unsettled business conditions than any other man—is the further one that the operation of the recall will fill all official positions with a low grade of men.

"Men of strength and ability, the kind that should fill all the higher official positions, knowing that the tenor of office will be subject to the many and various whims that may beset the voters, as they are moved this way and that by demagogic or class appeals to passion and selfish interests, will refuse to seek or accept public office. The consequence will be that

all public offices, including the judgeships, will be filled by cheap, inefficient men, subservient followers of the political machine in power.

"As in ancient Athens under the 'terrific democracies' there will be nothing fixed, nothing settled, no stability of laws, business or anything else. Laws will be in the process of making or unmaking all the time; and no man will be able to know what laws or political conditions may be in force and effect for any twenty-four hours.

"Do you not think that the people can be trusted to see to it that good laws are made and that good men are elected to official positions as well under the initiative-referendum-recall as under the present legal system and the entire independence of the judiciary, with the judges and other state officials elected for fixed terms?

"Clothed in their right minds and left to the exercise of their sober judgment, the people can nearly always be trusted to act justly and sensibly; but, aroused by demagogic appeals to their ignoble passions, and acting as a mass, they are as cruel as a pack of hungry wolves, and as unreasonable as a stampeding herd of cattle, following as by instinct the members of the herd who are making the loudest noise.

"That, Elder, was the reason why La Follette insisted upon a state-wide primary, so as to handle the voters in herds, instead of retaining the delegate and convention system, with the delegates elected by the secret ballot as, when the primary law was in the making, many of the real Progressive statesmen thought was the better way.

"With the voters in possession of their full reasoning faculties, and the delegates selected by precincts at regular all-day elections, men of ability and standing in the community

would, in most cases, be selected as delegates to state and all other conventions. As their positions as delegates would be purely honorary, in their cases the office would seek the man, and there would be no scramble for office. They would be, as a rule, men of backbone who, knowing exactly what their duties were, would not be stampeded by bursts of oratory or any others of the devices of the demagogue.

"Under the direct primary system, however, with the people voting direct for the candidates, each one of whom has a personal, pecuniary interest in the outcome of the election, he is sure to use all of the well known devices of the demagogue and the agitator to induce the people to give him their votes.

"During the present reign of political hysteria, with the tendency so strong with the voters to follow off the candidate making the biggest noise, compared with the delegate and convention system, the direct primary system is not giving the people a fair show; considering their mental condition, the candidates lay themselves to the charge of using undue influence to accomplish their ends.

"In the one case, the delegates, usually men selected for their good sense and standing in the community, stand as buffers between the people and the agitators; while in the other case, the men who are to reap the direct, pecuniary profit from their votes are allowed to work upon their passions and class prejudices with all the well known devices of the agitator and demagogue.

"All of this bears directly upon the main question under discussion, that initiative-referendum-recall is only the latest device of the demagogue whereby, keeping the people always in a turmoil, he may keep them in a state of mind to pay attention to him and his peculiar ways of making a living. Like

the squid, a marine animal common on the North Atlantic seaboard, which squirts a quantity of a black coloring matter into the water around to disguise its movements from the other small marine animals upon which it preys, and when it wishes to escape from its enemies, the political agitator works best when 'the water is roiled.'

"But, returning to the main question, there is another point that you have all failed to notice that may have an important bearing upon future history. We have all said at different times that we do not believe in state socialism. Now consider this: If the Socialists should increase their strength in the state until they come into full control, they would need no more than the laws cited in the case of farmer Johnson and his back forty to enable them to dispossess, strip every landed citizen in the state of his property, and leave him without recourse in all the courts of the land. No new laws would be necessary, no extra session of the legislature would be needed. The very day they came into control they could begin to 'initiate,' 'refer,' 'recall,' until every citizen, owner of land, might have it all confiscated to the state.

"It is not enough to say that such things never would happen. The question is whether we of the electorate, not of our own volition but at the hysterical behests of noisy politicians, all of whom are seeking to be elected to high office by the votes of the men whom they are trying to herd together under their leadership, shall turn such terrible power—latent though it may be—loose in the land where it can be seized upon by an accidental majority arising upon some wave of unreasoning popular clamor.

"You can never tell what the up-to-the-minute American voter is going to do next. One thing, however, is certain; he

dearly loves the candidate who gets up on his hind legs and howls.

"The important question for the future of our national existence—tinged with unpleasant suspicions—is how did all of these Progressive laws, apparently originating in widely separated states, come to be so they can be made to work out to such far-reaching results? Results that may mean even the destruction of the nation in the worst civil war of history. If even one of the series were missing it would break the chain that leads so surely to state confiscation of private property, leaving the courts powerless. Could it have been an accidental culmination of quite a number of laws, originating, apparently, in several widely separated states? What do you think of it, Elder?"

"I do not know how to answer that question, Sellem. I never connected the Progresive laws in that manner. It is astonishing, to say the least."

"The men who made this series of Progressive laws must have done so with a purpose to make of it just what it is; no other conclusion is possible. As to the men who devised them and were instrumental in putting them on the statute books of Oregon, Wisconsin, and some of the other western states, there is no question.

"The responsibility lies between two men, one of whom, at least, must be possessed of inventive genius of a high order. I am inclined to disagree with the general opinion as to who the real inventor is. My guess may not be any better than that of any one else, but it is just as good; and from a close analysis of the temperament and mental equipment of the two men, my guess is that the inventor of the political firm of La Follette & Van Hise is Charley Van Hise.

"La Follette is a natural orator and is what is called a smart man, but he has not the mental equipment of a deep thinker; and no one but a deep thinker, fitted for the work, both by natural ability and long, arduous practice, could have performed the mental labor necessary to have devised the series of Progressive election laws, each one of which is a much involved and complicated proposition in itself, and apparently without any particular connection with any other one of the series; but when we have collected them all in from the widely separated states in which they have appeared, one at a time, we find that they all work out to make one momentous whole, devised to make the politician and the political machine supreme in the land, towering over even the nation's foundation stone, the Constitution.

"Van Hise has the full mental equipment necessary for the work. A man of commanding intelligence, a deep thinker; used all his life to working out the most abstruse problems in the domains of science; a writer of books which none but a deep thinker of high natural, intellectual abilities could produce, show him to be, without question, the brains of the political exploitation firm of La Follette & Van Hise. This may be only a guess, but it is quite likely to be the case.

"If all of these repressive, Progression election laws had been first put on the boards in Wisconsin it would have aroused the suspicion of the common people as to their object; so they were, some of them, first 'tried on the dog' in several of the far western states, notably in Oregon. Now that the people have got used to the sound, though entirely without knowledge as to what it all really means, Wisconsin, for which state they were all intended, gets them all.

"Considered from their effect upon the nation at large,

with the Bourne bill, which is a part of the series and by the same authors, or some similar measure enacted into law, the citizens of any and every state where these laws are in force and effect will be without the protection of the Federal Constitution, deprived of his Bill of Rights, and as far as these states are concerned the complete nullification of the Constitution of the United States will have been accomplished. The effect of this will be that every such state under Progressive control will be completely subject to the little oligarchy of politicians that rules it; and property, even life itself, will be subject to their pleasure, as much so as though each such state were a little pocket nation off on some island in a remote ocean.

"Considered from their effect upon political matters in Wisconsin as far as these Progressive laws have been put in force, we have this situation:

"First, by his control over legislation, La Follette secured the enactment of the primary election law which, by killing and wiping off the map the Democratic party in the state—and the law will always do that to the minority party as surely and effectively as can be done by bullets or poison—left practically but one political party in the state.

"Then, after skilfully creating a bitter factional break in the ranks of the Republican party he, with the assistance of a number of men possessed of brains and money who were attracted to his side by one consideration and another, proceeded to construct, out of the faction adhering to his side, the greatest political machine of history; and by causing to be created thousands of new state offices filled by his 'La Follette men,' he so arranged matters that practically the entire cost of the upkeep of his mammoth political machine is paid by taxes collected by the state.

"By the sections of the primary election law which officially designate the successful candidates at the primary election as the only members of the party who have the right to assemble, deliberate, and formulate the party principles, he made sure that only he and his 'La Follette men' should have anything to say in regard to party platforms and party principles.

"He has thus, by law, practically deprived the great mass of the voters of Wisconsin of their ancient rights, guaranteed to all English speaking people since Magna Charta, the right to assemble and deliberate in regard to matters of general public concern; and he has restricted the exercise of that ancient right to mere office seekers, nearly all of whom are, and will be, dependent upon the favor of him and his political machine for their official positions; and the most of them are far from being, intellectually or otherwise, the strong men of the communities they represent.

"**The really strong men, the laymen, must stay at home, while the small, little fellows go to the 'Platform Convention' at Madison; take their orders from the Inner Circle; give their O. K. to the cut-and-dried platform proposition prepared for them; which same is then given out to the country as the position, on current political questions, of the once great Republican party of Wisconsin.**"

THE WAYBACK CLUB.

CHAPTER II.

A Club Meeting.

"Hullo! here's Chairman Sellem. Now we will find out about things. What are the news from the seat of war?"

"What! hasn't the meeting adjourned yet? I left you settling the fate of the nation two weeks ago and here you are yet. Why this protracted session? Some affairs in Greater China that need attention? Or has an embassy to be sent to the Grand Kahn of Bara Boula Ghar to tell him how to run things?"

"Just listen to him! Bet he jumped his last two towns so as to get here quick and unload. All of that must have been hurting him a lot."

"No, that isn't it. It is a new story, or he is going to try to make us believe it is new. Get up, kid, and give Mr. Sellem that chair. Now out with it. You won't feel right until you get it out of your system."

"All right, then, here you are: The editor of a country newspaper, visiting a large city just after the shooting of President McKinley, took a great interest in the bulletins informing the public of the President's condition. Shortly after the editor's return, Deacon Jones was taken seriously ill, and the following bulletins were promptly posted:

" '10:00 a. m.—Deacon Jones no better.

" '12:50 p. m.—Deacon Jones weaker, pulse failing.

" '2:15 p. m.—Deacon Jones' family summoned.

" '3:10 p. m.—Deacon Jones has died and gone to Heaven.'

"Later in the day a traveling salesman happened by,

stopped to read the bulletins and, going to the board, added:

"'4:10 p. m.—Great excitement in Heaven; Deacon Jones not yet arrived! The worst is feared!'

"While you are letting that soak into your gray matter, we will proceed with the regular business of the club—saving the country. While on this trip, I took a run over to Madison and had a look—as well as I could see through the clouds of words and things with which the atmosphere around the Capitol was filled—at what was going on there; and I tell you, boys, it was fierce. By the time those political carpenters and joiners get through measuring and sawing and hammering at the time-tried institutions of poor old Wisconsin, a would-be law abiding citizen of the state will not be able to either go to bed or get up according to law. As yet, they have not tackled those two points; but they have prescribed new laws and rules for about every other relation of life, and they will likely take up and regulate those two before they quit.

"And my hearers, if you could get a look at the bunch of cheap guys that is doing the regulating! About half of them do not look as though they had either the brains or business ability to qualify them to run Mr. Strike's wood-sawing outfit successfully. But they know plenty enough to run the state and make laws for their betters. O, yes, to be sure they do; 'cause they are reformers.

"They seem to be inventing something new about every day. I hardly believe they will dare to inflict us with all the new things they have on the docket—this session; but the new Progressive wrinkles are all down to be tried out on us, and the operation will surely be made in due time—unless La Follette in some way loses his grip—or the poor old world concludes to give up and quit before he undertakes to take in

the whole round globe. The most of the new things in legislation, however, provide many additional places in the public service for tax eaters and, on that account, it will take one of the two above mentioned happenings to head them off. They delight to call it Progressiveism, it is radicalism gone mad, that is what it is.

"Among the new laws that are likely to be enacted during the present session are the initiative, referendum and recall. That will likely be the grand wind-up.

"There will be new laws creating more commissions—additional places for good 'La Follette men' at the public feeding trough. Then the income tax law; and for a proposition planned to take care of a whole regiment of the Bob-Mac political soldiers—wages and rations furnished by the state—that last will be a dandy! It will, also, be the worst imposition upon the state that the gang has yet devised.

"Then we will have a brand new conservation commission, with appropriate conservation laws; and to the boys of the organization, this last will be a peach, and an everlasting joy. Built along the lines of the only and original game warden graft, where that took care of companies, this new and overgrown improvement will give sustenance and wages to regiments and brigades of 'La Follette men.' In fact, the possibilities in the new conservation commission for taking care of the faithful at the expense of the tax payers of the state are simply beyond computation.

"I do not believe they will dare to enact all the laws they threaten to inflict upon this already tax-burdened, law-ridden state; that will be going too far, even for Wisconsin. We do not need any more laws of any kind."

"You are correct on one proposition, Mr. Webber, but

wrong on the other. We do not need these new laws, but the La Follette machine needs them; it needs the many new jobs and places they will provide for their political high privates, captains, colonels and generals.

"The most of the new things were, after due and careful consideration by the Inner Circle, 'promised,' and 'demanded' in the last Republican platform, and for a purpose. They nearly all provide for numerous stalls and stanchions communicating with the public feeding trough. For this reason it is quite certain that the most of the new things will be enacted into laws at the present session, as the good 'La Follette men' who have been selected to fill the most important of the new jobs are even now forming in line—in their minds—before the cashier's little window.

"Of course, some of the proposed new laws, not actually in the forage class, may not be enacted at this session. To attempt too much at this one session may tend to so far reveal the outline of the colored gentleman in the wood pile as to arouse the inquiring suspicions of the 'common people.' However, with the primary election law's bear trap action to depend upon, and La Follette's oratorical stunts for heavy artillery, they may think it is safe to go the whole hog on everything.

"Some time ago I read a story about a crazy man who was insane on only one point. He imagined, at times, that he was a first class fighting man—a hell-roaring scrapper; and when the fit came on he would attack any one within reach. Eventually his keepers learned that anything in the shape of a man would do for him to vent his rage upon. So they made a figure of a large, robust man, constructed of strong cloth, stuffed with straw, and found that it answered every purpose.

"During the day, the poor loony was confined in a room communicating with a yard enclosed by a high, woven wire fence; and the straw man was kept standing in the yard. Whenever the fighting fit came on, the crazy gent would emit yells of rage, charge on the dummy, knock it down, jump on the prostrate form and maul it until he was exhausted.

"That story reminds me of La Follette and his stuffed dummy, the corporations. About every so often—as political conditions and needs seem to require—Bob heralds his war cry, charges on the stuffed corporation person, knocks it down, and dances amazing war dances on the prostrate form, while outside stands a great crowd of the common people, mouths agape and eyes bulging out, wondering at the awe-inspiring courage of the little man. Just like the lunatic and the straw man in the story, only, in this case, Bob is not crazy. He never is.

"Except the entertainment derived from these elaborately staged attacks upon the dummy corporation persons, just tell me what you poor down-trodden farmers and workingmen have been getting out of the past twelve years of political turmoil and strife and neighborhood quarrels, enormously increased taxes, and the cumbering of the state's pay rolls with thousands of useless employes? How much better off are you now than you were when Bob La Follette, making use of the state of Wisconsin as a general financial recruiting station, started out on his campaign for the presidency? Now, you poor, down-trodden common people, you have the floor and I promise to listen until you get all through telling me about it."

"I do not claim to be very well posted on these matters, but I can tell you of some things that La Follette has done for the people of the state. The regular rate of fare on the

railroads used to be three cents per mile, now it is two cents. The railroad oppressed the people of the state in other ways than through excessive rates; now they are controlled and made to conform to the laws. These reforms we certainly owe to Senator La Follette."

"I know that, more or less directly, La Follette claims all of the credit for the reforms you speak of; but these things were done several years ago, long enough for most people to forget—as you have—how we came by the two cent railway fare law. The history—the real inside story—of the making of the State Railway Commission Law, by which the regulation of the railroads is accomplished, has never been written; and I am going to give it to you at some future meeting of the club.

"As to the two-cent fare law, its history is as follows: The state railway commission had reduced the rate of ticket fare, on the first class railroads of the state, to two and one-half cents per mile; claiming that was as low as the rate could go and allow the railroads fair remuneration for their services. Afterwards, session of 1907, Assembly bill 15A was under consideration in the senate and Senator Jas. K. Wright, of Merrill, an uncompromising stalwart, and a 'lumber baron' at that, introduced an amendment to the bill reducing the rate of fare to two cents per mile. The La Follette men in the legislature opposed this amendment, and one of the members of the state railway commission threatened to resign if the amended bill became a law; but it became a law, and is the law today. And yet, all over the state and the nation the most of the people have been artfully led to believe that Wisconsin owes her two-cent fare law to Bob La Follette.

"If any of you care to look this matter up, you will find

the reference to Senator Wright's amendment in assembly bill 15A (1907), and the text and references to the law in chapters 578 and 654, laws of 1907.

"It is not necessary to put you to that trouble, however, as I have the documentary proof in my pocket. Wishing to be sure as to how this law came to be enacted, I wrote to Senator Wright a short time ago, asking him to write me just how he came to offer his two-cent fare amendment to bill 15A, and how it fared with the La Follette men in the legislature. His answer is as follows:

" 'Merrill, Wis., Dec. 1911.

" 'Dear Sir:

" 'In reply to your favor of the 4th, I can tell you quite clearly how we came to pass the two-cent fare law.

" 'Early in the session, a bill was introduced by a man named Turner for a two cent fare which was finally killed. The number of the bill was 15-A. Early in the session, I had informed certain parties that if the railroads did not do something to remedy existing matters, I would myself endeavor to pass a two-cent fare law.

" 'Three or four days before the session closed, I came up from Chicago on the train, and was informed by a gentleman that he had tendered money for fare and asked to be given the benefit of law rates in force in Illinois and Wisconsin; i. e., two cents in Illinois and two and one-half cents in Wisconsin: that he was told that if he wished to take advantage of these low rates he would have to get off at the nearest Wisconsin station and buy a ticket or else pay three cents a mile.

" 'I arrived at Madison that evening and looked around to see what I could do to pass a two-cent fare law. I figured that, unanimous consent being given, I could recall Assembly bill

15-A, and ask to have the vote reconsidered by which it was non-concurred in.

" 'I had promises from a number of the members that they would allow me to reconsider but would not support the bill. However, upon objection being made, motion to reconsider was carried by twenty-two votes, the number required.

" 'After a three days' fight the bill was passed by both houses and signed by the governor. The strong La Follette men were opposed to the bill, and I think the records will show that John Hannan, La Follette's private secretary, openly opposed it. W. D. Connor, our presiding officer, assisted me considerably in the passage of the bill, as did Senators Burns, Munson and Smith. W. D. Connor will, no doubt, substantiate the statements I have made here, as this was the way the bill was enacted.

" 'The railway commission openly opposed the bill, and we were threatened with the resignation of one of the commissioners, which you undoubtedly know took place.

" 'Trusting this is the information you are seeking, and with best wishes, I am,

" 'Yours very truly,

" 'JAS. K. WRIGHT.'

"The other reforms you speak of were the work of the railway commission, and though he claims it as his work as he claims everything else that has been done in the past twenty years by other men in reforming corporate abuses, La Follette had very little to do with the making of the railway commission law, as it was finally completed. That law was constructed by the Senate Railway Committee, of which Senator Hatton was chairman, the members of which were nearly all Progressives who are not now progressing in the, at present, accepted way;

that is, they are not trotting along in the dust behind La Follette's band wagon.

"While being so fair to all interests that it is not likely that very many of the large corporations doing business in the state would want the law repealed, the Railway Commission has ridden the state of the most of the corporation abuses. La Follette, however, insisted upon an entirely different law than the one that was finally enacted; and a bill for his kind of a railway commission law was introduced in the Assembly, where he had votes enough to enact any law or thing he demanded.

"In the Senate, however, there was a more or less adverse or anti-La Follette majority; and, in order to get votes enough there to pass it, it was necessary to get up a bill that was reasonably fair and conservative. That was the work of Senator Hatton and his associates on the Senate Railway Committee. I will tell you that story at another time; but bear this in mind, gentlemen, very little of the credit for the present railway commission law is due to Bob La Follette.

"Nevertheless, he has always arrogated to himself all of the credit, and when the time came when he could pay the debt that he owed to Senator Hatton for a great part of his future political success, he did what he has done to all of the really big men who furnished the money and much of the brains to carry on his earlier campaigns, resorted to the cheapest, most common form of political chicanery to beat him out of the United States senatorship which was his due. So skilfully was the work done, however, that, except Senator Hatton and a few others, it is not known today, even, what actually happened in that 1908 primary election that the nomination was thrown to Senator Stephenson."

"I must confess that you have got in too deep there for

me, Sellem. You must admit, however, that, even counting out the two-cent fare and the railway commission laws, Senator La Follette and his noble band of unselfish workers have done much to right the wrongs that were being inflicted upon the common people—the farmers and workingmen. As evinced by their votes at every election of recent years, these certainly see how their cause has been upheld and advanced by Senator La Follette."

"You have me there, Elder, and I must ask you to specify."

"Specify as to what?"

"As to the many wrongs of the common people that La Follette has righted."

"W-h-y—I do not know as I can recall specific instances, offhand like this; but, in general, the work has been large."

"I must still continue to call you. Name at least one of the general instances to which you refer."

"I must have time to think before I answer your question. I cannot now recall any particular instances."

"All right, take plenty of time to collect your thoughts; but you used the word unselfish—unselfish workers. Just what do you mean by that word in this connection?"

"W-hy, in its larger acceptance, I would say that an unselfish worker is one who is willing to work for his fellows."

"Without recompense or reward?"

"Yes, I will allow that construction—without recompense or reward."

"'Without recompense or reward.' Yes, that is a good definition of the phrase. Now tell me if you have seen anything about the conduct or careers of any of these reformers that indicates that they are willing to do anything without recompense or reward—large guaranteed rewards? Do you

know of any of them who have not been engaged in a scramble for office—a place at the public feeding trough—as long as they have been in the reforming business?"

"Well, really, I do not now recall any one who has been engaged with Senator La Follette in the work of reform who has not been, as you say, a speaker after public office. According to your standard, then, there are no sincere reformers."

"There was a genuinely sincere reformer on earth once, Elder, about 1911 years ago: and there have not been many since. Within that period there may have been a few of the genuine on the earth at different times and places but, up to date, none of them have hit Wisconsin.

"In these late modern times, with the general business expansion, reforming, once a purely ethical matter, has come to be a business, as much so as is manufacturing or merchandising: and men engage in it for the same reasons. As a business, it has become one of the best paying propositions possible for ambitious men with gifts of oratory and blessed with certain theatrical talents. This has given rise to lots of competition and there are all kinds of men in the reforming business at the present time.

"Under such conditions, out of a field full of alleged reformers, it is hard to pick out a simon-pure article. However, when you see a man whom you have known as a very ordinary shyster lawyer suddenly develop a violent concern for the alleged wrongs of the farmer and workingman, at the same time evincing a frantic desire to serve the state in some official capacity, put him under critical observation.

"He may have gone crazy from reading the muckrake magazines; but the chances are that the law business is not paying

very well and he is preparing to engage in the reform business as offering better pay.

"It may be that he is only yearning to get into the spotlight that beats upon the occupant of a public office; or he may have his eyes on one of those nice, snug $3,000 to $5,000 commissionerships—of which there are now so many and more in the making—provided for La Follette men, good and true. Anyway, of this you may be sure, he is laying his plans to land in a place at the public feeding trough and to hang on there as long as the present snap lasts. That is what the row is all about.

"But the queer thing about it is that men who habitually figure as closely as you farmers do should fail to inquire as to who is paying the bills for all of this high priced reforming, these useless and highly expensive public offices. They must be paid from taxes as the state has no other source of income. Many men, however, are so constructed mentally that they do not take notice of common, material things when it has been carefully arranged, by a master hand at the business, that their weak and foolish prejudices shall be played upon so that they will not take notice."

"You make some statements, Mr. Sellem, that are, or may be, more or less true; but why this general unrest among the people of all of the poorer classes, laborers, farmers, clerks, mechanics, in fact all except those whom we call the well-to-do? It was not thus in my younger days. This condition has all developed within the past few years, and there must be some reason for it. As I look at it, modern industrial conditions have laid burdens upon the poor too great for them to bear; and these sham reformers—as you indicate that they are—have been sent by the Higher Power to lead the poor people to

the light and to better conditions. In all ages of the world, it was ever thus."

"Men of your calling, Elder, are likely to look at the subject in that way; many thousands of men who have roughed it in life's hard battle long enough and hard enough to know better are misled by the specious pleas of these self-styled reformers. Did it ever occur to you to look back a few years to when you were a boy, and note what modern industrial conditions have done to improve the conditions of the common people, reduce the hours of labor, raise the pay, and improve the conditions of employment in general? Wages are getting higher every year and the hours of labor shorter; within the past few years, the prices of farm produce have risen from one hundred to several hundred per cent, in many cases, with a constantly increasing demand; all due to modern industrial conditions; and yet the unrest grows and grows, and the more the people prosper the greater and surer are the rewards of the political agitator.

"Just take the time, Elder, to study the history of this whole Progresive reform business with the same singleness of purpose and desire for light with which you study your Bible, and you will learn that the present political unrest in this state has been stirred up, created by professional reformers to serve their personal ends. You will learn that the most of the present turmoil in the state and nation is a purely manufactured article, like the coat, hat, and shoes you wear. You will also learn that it has been manufactured for the same purpose—purely commercial—to be traded for public offices with fat salary attachments, Chautauquain lecture engagements at $150 per, markets for magazine articles, interviews, biog-

raphies, and to swell the subscription lists and advertising receipts of the muckrake magazines.

"And what have the 'common people,' the advertised beneficiaries of the whole row been getting out of it? Outside of the pleasure they derive from the state-wide political circus, if they are getting anything out of it except a constantly increasing tax rate, and multitudes of vexatious laws, I would like to know what it is. Anyway they will find out, eventually, that the tax payers of the state must, in the end, foot the bills for the whole circus.

"Did it ever occur to you that every one of these self-styled reformers has been an office seeker since his suddenly developed concern for the common people became known? Do you recall any one of these militant reformers who has not, from the start, hunted public office with all of the assiduity that a toper with' a ten days' old thirst hunts a booze parlor?"

"Well, put that way, I do not now recall the name of any one of our reformers who has not been, also, a seeker of public office; but I still believe that some of them are sincere."

"Possibly that may be so, though, up to date, none such have been found in Wisconsin. Those gentlemen make me exceedingly tired. Whenever I see an advertisement of a new style of hat or shoe, I think of them; and I think of hat, shoe, and breakfast food advertisements whenever I see one of their 'uplift' articles, speeches, or 'interviews' in the muckrake magazines. New political fashions are introduced in exactly the same manner that new dress fashions are introduced. The demand for new styles are worked up in the same way in polities as in dress, by advertising; and the men who get up

and introduce new political fashions and new fashions in dress act from exactly the same motive—personal gain.

"The political field is one that is easily tilled. In every community there are always a large number of men, often comprising a majority of the voters—who, for one reason and another, have found the battle of life either a losing struggle or a drawn battle; and they have accumulated a general grouch against those who have more money and, they think, better and easier times than they.

"Knowing this state of mind of the voters, the incipient 'reformer' reasons as follows: 'By proper and judicious work, a large proportion of the members of my political party in my district or state can be made to believe that if I am elected to public office I will make their lots in life easier and help them throw down certain men or classes against whom they have grouches. In order, however, to land anything permanent, I must build up a strong personal following of men who are also ambitious of political preferment and easy public pickings who, in return for my assistance in getting them into office, will obey my orders and do my work.

" 'There are many men in every voting precinct, and many thousands of them in the state, who would like to hold public office—easy jobs at good salaries—and if I can assist them to get into office, they will obey my commands. In this way I can build up a personal organization that will be a "peach" and make the tax payers pay the costs of construction and operation.'

"This is the course of reasoning that leads to the development of the plot, and the general process of construction, operation, and maintenance, of our twentieth century Progressive

political organizations, the kinds we have in Wisconsin and Oregon."

"Getting down to particulars and definitions: what is Progressiveism?"

"A natural inquiry, Mr. Jackson, considering the very loose manner in which the word is being banded about without any definition attached. As a definition is desired, I will furnish one.

"The correct, up to the minute, definition of Progressiveism: is a great thirst for public office complicated with an organized means for assuaging said thirst. In Wisconsin it is sometimes called La Folletteitis.

"But returning to the subject under discussion. Out in Oregon the Progressives have so fixed the laws that the tax payers have to stand all of the campaign expenses of candidates for state offices, down even to the postage and the cost of printing and mailing their campaign literature. Great scheme that—for the candidates.

"By the terms of a law that is now in the mill at Madison, commencing with the primary campaign of 1912, candidates for public office in Wisconsin will have the same cash favors extended to them. When you get time to look it up, Elder, please get up a paper and read it to the club, showing why the state should pay the campaign expenses, or any part of them, of voluntary candidates for office.

"It is generally conceded that Oregon has a nice, easy running Progressive organization; but for a down-right bang-up, high class political machine, perfect in all its parts, well oiled and heavily manned, the Wisconsin Progressive machine, constructed and operated by Robert Marion La Follette and his private cabinet, the Inner Circle, has them all beaten a

mile, and then some. A political organization that can, on a three days' notice, poll practically the solid vote of its members for a dead man, as was done for dead man Tucker in the primary election of 1910, is certainly high class.

"No doubt the machine that is now running the state looks upon the methods of the old Republican organization as having been very coarse, indeed. The new, Progressive way is ever so much easier, cheaper for the office seekers,very much more effective, takes care of thousands more of the 'boys;' and the payment of the bills are unloaded upon the tax payers. No wonder the followers of Bob think he is great enough to be President —this Edison of politicians.

"Since the machine was constructed many improvements have been added from time to time; but it was a 'bird' from the beginning, and the completed machine stamps the inventor, La Follette or Van Hise, as a great political inventive genius."

"Of course we know that the La Follette organization is a strong one and no doubt they control the state; but I do not think the expenses of the state are very much more than they were before they got control."

"You should read the papers, Mr. Strike. La Follette's Weekly is not the whole newspaper world, not by several. For the fiscal year ending Sept. 30th, 1899, the last year of Gov. Scofield's administration, the general fund disbursements, the ordinary running expenses of the state, were $2,635,192.85. The disbursements from the same fund for the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1910, were $6,434,097.06. These are the official figures from the Blue Book, and they show an increase of about one hundred and forty-five per cent in the running expenses of the state in ten years; while, as shown by the United

States census report, the population of the state increased less than thirteen per cent.

"In other words, under the administration of the La Follette machine, the expenses of the state increased twelve times faster than the population in ten years. How long would any private business stand such a drain upon its resources?

"The Blue Book is issued but once in two years, and the 1911 edition gives nothing later than the figures for 1910. From the figures shown by the department books at Madison for 1911, however, and from the appropriations being made by the present Legislature, the running expenses of the state for 1912 will be three hundred per cent more than they were in 1899, after a reform regime of twelve years.

"That is what this La Follette business is doing for Wisconsin. These figures are only for the running expenses of the state government, paid out of the general fund. In addition there are large sums paid out yearly on special accounts. Careful estimates, by men well acquainted with state matters, place the total running expenses of the state for 1912 at $12,000,000.

"The greater part of this vast increase in the expenses of the state goes to pay salaries, traveling expenses, office and general expenses, and the thousand and one things connected with the cost of maintaining a vast official force. Now tell me, Mr. Strike, what are the people of the state receiving in return for all of this vast increase in the state's expenses? Except from taxation, the state has no source of income, except the interest it receives from the investment of the different trust funds; and practically all of these increased expenses of operation are paid by money collected by taxation. You

and I and all people who pay taxes have to pay our part of it, and what are we getting out of it in return?"

"You overlook the fact, Mr. Sellem, that a large part of the increased expenses of the state under the La Follette rule have been paid by the increased taxes collected from the corporations. Also you fail to note that nearly four of the years between 1900 and 1910 are included in the two terms of Gov. Davidson who, for a part of the time at least, you will hardly claim was run by La Follette."

"Correct, Elder. I was intending to take up those two points later, but can as well do it now.

"As you say, a large part of the state's expenses are being paid by the larger amount of taxes that are now being collected from the corporations. It is too well known to be disputed that all of the money that is collected through all forms of taxation is being expended each year. Not only that, but at each session of the legislature, new methods and means of taxation are diligently sought for; and yet the administration hardly as much as pretends that there is any other way, except for the vast increase in the official force, to account for the enormous increase in expenses. Except for the few hundred thousand dollars a year that have been paid out on the new Capitol for the past few years, we are getting no public improvements that will account for much or any of the increase. The state's institutions take some each year, of course; but that has always been the case. It is nearly all being spent on office holders. Now wherein do men who do not hold office profit from it?

"The most of you know that nearly all of the taxes wrung from life insurance, railroad, and other public utility companies, and the most of the private corporations, must come

from the people in the end. Will they never learn this, that, in the end they pay it all?

"We know that the most of the increase in the state's official force is unnecessary, but that it is for the purpose of making the people pay for the upkeep of his organization and holding his workers in line, loyal to his (La Follette's) person.

"Though he claims the credit for it all, the session laws and legislative bills show by their date that the most of the laws for the regulation of corporations were enacted in the first instance before La Follette become governor. Other men than he started the movement for better control of the railroads and other corporations long before his time. Governor Scofield, A. R. Hall, John M. Whitehead, and others in the Legislature, and W. D. Hoard, with voice and pen were working for better control of the corporations long before the year 1900. The first tax commission law was passed in 1897, and the first civilian members of the commission were appointed by Gov. Scofield. Following recommendations made by Gov. Scofield in his message of that year, the Legislature of 1899 amended and strengthened the law; and the present tax commission law is the original law amended and improved as shown by experience and use.

"Under Gov. Scofield's administration, laws were enacted largely increasing the taxes to be paid by insurance companies, for better regulation of railroad companies and increasing their taxes. Until the exigencies of politics demanded otherwise, La Follette was satisfied with these conditions, as, in one of his first messages to the Legislature after he became governor, he testified to the fairness of the railroad companies in the matter of the payment of their taxes. Allow-

ing La Follette all the credit due him, the fact remains that he only carried on the work begun by other men than he long before he was in the work; and yet he claims all of the credit.

"Davidson was governor for the most of the four years from 1906 to 1910, but as far as he could do anything to effect legislative work, he was governor for the last two years only. As lieutenant governor, he became governor by action of law when La Follette resigned to become senator. The organization of the first Legislature of his term was under La Follette's supervision, and as he supposed until long afterwards that he was a good enough 'La Follette man,' the work of the Legislature went on as though La Follette had still been governor. During his second term, Davidson was sure enough governor but the Legislature for that term was nearly as much 'La Follette' as at the previous session.

"Any more criticisms or corrections, Elder?"

"No. I think not, if your data is correct. You seem to have the advantage of me in being better posted on matters connected with state affairs."

"That is easy to explain. You get your information from La Follette's Weekly and the articles and 'interviews' in the muckrake magazines, while I get mine from inspection of official state books and documents. Follow my course and you will not get tripped up so often—but you will lose your child-like faith in Bob La Follette.

"All things earthly have an end, and these particular political good things that the Progressives in Wisconsin, Oregon, and some of the other western states have been enjoying for years will likely have to conform to the general rule.

"From the antics the Progressive-Insurgent statesmen in congress are cutting, during the present session, they see the

danger ahead, even now; and are in deep trouble. They know that the tide is on the wane, that the people are beginning to see through their selfish schemes; that they are getting tired of the constant agitation, of the constantly increasing number of elections with their general unsettling effects upon business and of the enormous increase in the number of state officials and employes and the consequent increase in the running expenses of the government everywhere the Progressives have control.

"Many of the voters are beginning to inquire, sometimes curiously, sometimes querulously, 'Wherein are we, the common people, profiting from all this turmoil, strife and increase in taxes?'

"Another cause of complaint is that the common people need about all the time there is between January 1st and December 31st of each year to attend to the business of making a living, educating their children, and attending to the few social amenities of life; and yet, as things are under the La Follette rule, the voters are expected to spend about one quarter of their time camping out on the political war path, listening to the sound of the war drums, while the big chiefs make political medicine and agitate the helpless air with speech-making.

"But the people are beginning to take notice that, after all of the warring, shouting, and drumming, the only change noticeable is a large increase in the number of office holders, a distinct lowering of the grade, and an enormous increase in taxes.

"Now that they are getting accustomed to the noise, and the glamor has begun to wear off, they are, also, beginning to inquire as to why the reformers are all clamoring for public

office at the same time that they are found to be filled with compassion and concern for the poor, downtrodden laboring men and farmers.

"The Progressives, having their ears all the time to the ground, have begun to notice these indications with deep concern. They know that unless they can get control of the national government in 1912-1913, so they can keep the circus going on a higher plane than is possible now, they will be soon put out of business. This accounts for the bitter fight they are making upon President Taft.

"Recent numbers of La Follette's Weekly show what is going on in high Progressive circles, as it has, for some time back, been descending to the lowest depths of indecency in lampooning President Taft. In this respect it has been only equalled in indecency by the Chicago and other Hearst newspapers in their attacks upon President McKinley in the last McKinley-Bryan campaign. One of the La Follette's Weekly cartoons of recent issue represents President Taft as a wolf in sheep's clothing. How does that look coming from a United State's senator, supposed to be of the same political faith as President Taft?"

"Are you sure of that, Mr. Sellem? I hardly think it can be possible—exactly as you state it."

"I do not wonder that you do not credit it; but it is easily proved. Look up Mr. Jackson's file of the Weekly and see for yourself."

"In these matters you seem to be so much better posted than I am, so sure of your facts and figures, that until I can look up the references, I do not see how I can well disprove your statements. You are not, however, giving Senator La

Follette credit for the good work that he has done in forcing the great corporations to pay nearer their share of the taxes. Though, as you state, others before him may have started the work, he has, since he became governor in 1901, secured the enactment of laws that are yielding large returns in cash from corporations doing business in the state."

"As it is true, I will not try to refute that statement. Since La Follette has been in control of the state, laws enacted under his direction or dictation have brought large sums of money from those sources into the state's treasury; but what has been done with the money? In what way have these large sums of money that have been taken from the corporations been used for the betterment of the people? If the people at large have derived no benefit from it, what has been done with the money? For what purpose was it collected?

"Show me what good La Follette has done with all of these millions of corporation tax money. In what way have the common people of the state been benefited? Name any of the public improvements; account in any manner for the vast sums the La Follette administration has collected in the past four to six years—and spent; for you will admit that it has all been spent; and many millions more with it that have been wrung from the common people by various forms of taxation."

"Though your demand for specifications is just, I am not prepared to furnish them now. I can see, however, that general claims, and pinning the matter down to specific cases, are two very different things. You are correct, however, La Follette has never explained that one point. He has not shown us what has been done with the money."

"And yet the people have been accepting the statements and claims of La Follette and his followers as to the vast sums

they have forced the corporations to pay into the state's treasury and have never thought to ask them the simple question, the first one that, in ordinary business matters, would have occurred to them, as to what they have done with the money.

"That is one of the queer things about La Folletteism: Once inoculated with its virus, the people seem to lose all their natural business sense.

"With the many millions that La Follette claims to have put into the state's treasury from extra corporation taxes in the past few years and general property taxes higher each year, it would seem that the questions as to what was being done with all the money would have been occurring to the taxpayers. From the total absence of any records on the subject, however, it would seem that the question has never occurred to them. Possibly they may have accepted the general situation that, under Progressive rule, all there is left for those who do not hold public office is to vote and pay taxes. What are your ideas on the subject, Elder?"

"The question as to what has been done with the money is a proper one, but I am not now prepared to give a categorical answer to it."

"There is no answer that will fit your ideas of the subject. Some of the increases in the state's expenses were necessary, as for some of the increased cost of the different state institutions and the work on the new capitol building; but except the correct one that the most of the increase in the expenses of the state are due to the enormous increase in the number of state employes, and the attendant extra expenses, no explanation can be made that can account for the enormous increase of $3,798,000 per year in the running expenses from 1900 to 1910, with an increase in the population of only thirteen per

cent; an increase in expenses of 145 per cent in the time that the population increased but thirteen per cent.

"That is the price we are paying for La Folletteism. Not only have they used up the millions that the corporations have been paying into the state treasury each year, but the regular taxes that the state levies against all of the property in the state, the farms and the homes of the workingmen, have been increasing by leaps and bounds right along. It had been bad enough up to 1910, but from the way money has been squandered during the past year, and the way the present Legislature is piling up the appropriations, the state taxes for 1912 will be something terrible to contemplate. Instead of a 145 per cent increase, it is likely to be near 300 per cent; unless the state administration makes some move to evade or tide over the issue—which it is very likely to do.

"In the face of all this prostitution of the public funds and the public service to the upbuilding of his personal political machine, La Follette is constantly parading before the people of the nation as a great reformer of bad men and things that formerly vexed the people of Wisconsin. There has been considerable reform work done since he has been running the state, but as I will prove to you by public records at other meetings, much of this work was begun and well on towards completion before La Follette had anything to do with it. He claims credit for it all, however, and that he not only originated all of the reform measures, but carried them out all by his lonesome self, nearly.

"The records, however, tell a different story. Some of the men who had been engaged in the earlier movements to correct existing abuses that had crept in while the state was still in the pioneer period, assisted La Follette with money and po-

litical influence in his earlier campaigns. Later other men came in with money and brains which they placed at his disposal. The big men among them all met the same fate at his hands. After he had used them all that he could, and they had begun to take the true measure of the man, he turned on them and, under one pretext and another, kicked them out.

"With men who know the facts, La Follette stands branded as a selfish ingrate, arrogating to himself all the credit as he is the beneficiary of work done before his time by such workers for the betterment of the state as W. D. Hoard, A. R. Hall and many others.

"In the years following 1900, Senators Hatton, Hudnall, Stout, Wipperman, Senator Stephenson and W. D. Connor gave freely of money and their valuable time to advance the cause; and but for Stephenson's money and Connor's great executive ability, La Follette would have been defeated for governor in 1906.

"Under present conditions, there are many tens of thousands of regular Republicans, like Mr. Webber, Mr. Jackson, and myself, who have no party home, as there is now no Republican organization in the state. What passes for such is merely the personal following of Bob La Follette. The Democratic party, from the same cause, is in much the same condition but, perhaps, is still alive. When La Follette was engaged in building up his machine he 'scrapped' the Democratic party, assassinated the Republican party, and there was a general obliteration of party lines to follow the prophet of discontent. The Republican party is still dead but the Democratic party shows signs of returning to life.

"Speaking for myself, I have now no party attachment

in Wisconsin. The tenets and practices of the La Follette partyites are against my political and moral principles. I do not like some of the things the Democratic party stands for, but, as a whole, that party is nearer to my beliefs than the La Follette party; and I can vote the Democratic state ticket.

"My case is like that of the dying English soldier: In one of England's many wars, a soldier was mortally wounded, and his comrade sat beside him watching him slowly pass away. Thinking that the poor man might not know that his end was near and that he ought to break it to him, he said:

"'You have a bad hurt, Tommy.'

"'Yes, pretty bad.'

"'You can hardly 'ope to get well.'

"'No, I can't get well.'

"'You have been a bad man, Tommy.'

"'Yes, pretty bad.'

"'You can't expect to go to Heaven, Tommy.'

"'No, I won't go to Heaven.'

"'Then you'll go to 'ell.'

"'Yes, I'll have to go to 'ell.'

"After a pause: 'It's nice that you have some place to go to, Tommy.'

"There are some of the principles of the Democratic party that I agree with. They advocate economy in public affairs and the freest possible initiative and action of the individual citizen of the state. These two principles have had more to do with the upbuilding of this great nation than all the rest.

"On the other hand, Bob La Follette and his cult stand for the highest possible taxes on every possible taxing proposition; for spending as much of the money so gathered from

the tax payers for purely political purposes as is safe to do without causing a revolt, and for tieing up the citizen and his property in such a maze of laws and restrictions on his personal freedom of movement and the handling of his property that, in advance of a judgment of the court of last resort, even the best lawyers cannot advise a man with surety as to whether he is within or without the law. And now with the proposed recall of the judges, he will still farther make the citizen's relations to the law uncertain and vexatious.

"La Follette stands for the principle that the citizen must be surrounded with a cloud of officials—inspectors, tax assessors, game wardens, fire wardens, conservation officials and employes, commissioners of many kinds, and lodged in the outfit is the authority of the state to pry into the private, personal and business affairs of every citizen.

"I doubt, however, if this state of affairs will continue much longer. From what I hear from the people I meet as I travel about from day to day, a hundred thousand or more of the regular Republicans will vote the Democratic ticket in 1912. The present Legislature, in enacting a law placing the presidential electors on a separate ballot, fixed things in good shape for us. We can vote for the Republican presidential electors on one ballot and the straight Democratic ticket on the other; and that is what we are going to do.

"There will be a great opportunity in 1912 for some strong man, a Democrat, who has the sense and backbone to come out for governor on a platform—well just a straightout Democratic platform calling for honesty and economy in the state's business, and a plank promising the repeal of unnecessary laws and the elimination of unnecessary officials from the state's service. About such a platform as the Democrats used to put up before Bob La Follette captured and caged them."

CHAPTER III.

A Reformer and a Trust.

"I was thinking, as I came in on the train tonight as to what a gigantic humbug the present race of reformers are perpetrating upon the people in their eternal racings and chasings up and down the land crying, 'Beware of the corporations.' 'The corporations will catch you if you don't watch out!'

"And with all the well known insincerity of nearly all of them, the people will still be taken in by them, regardless of the number of times their dishonesty is shown up. It is a queer commentary on the abnormal action of the human mind —in some people.

"It reminds me of a story that Phil Cheek used to tell during the last Harrison-Cleveland campaign, when the tariff was the bogy-man with which good Democratic mammas used to scare their naughty children. It illustrates the subject under discussion so well that I will give it to you.

"Down in North Carolina there was a large area of mountainous country into which no railroad had, as yet, penetrated, and many of the poor whites had never seen a railroad, and had very hazy ideas as to what a railroad was like.

"One of these men, out hunting one day, wandered farther from home than usual and, at nightfall, reached a line of railroad that was being built through the mountains. His first railroad experience was a terrifying one, and he reached home late at night in an exhausted and generally used up condi-

tion. 'Why, Bud! what in the name of goodness is the matter with you?' inquired his better half.

"'Wife,' said he, 'I've seen the devil or some other unearthly thing. I went out over the Hogback today and when I got down into the valley on the other side, it was dark, and I thought I would camp there and come home in the morning.

"'Just as I was getting ready to lie down, I heard an awful rumblin' and a roarin' that kept a comin' nearer and nearer; and by and by, a great black thing with one big fiery eye in the middle of his forehead came down the valley like lightning a shootin' sparks of fire into the air at every jump. I was too scared to move, at first, but when it got right opposite me it let out the most awful sereech any one ever heard on this earth. That woke me up and I lit out over the mountains for home.'

"'Why, Bud, what do you suppose it could have been?'

"'I dunno, for sure, but I think, maybe, it was that damn tariff.'

"Just like La Follette and the corporations. It's 'the corporations this, and the corporations that,' and 'the corporations will catch you if you don't watch out!' from year's end to year's end.

"The people of Wisconsin will, after awhile, awake to the fact that this corporation bugaboo is being used to lull them into a 'We're all right, Bob will protect us from the corporation devil,' state of mind, while their substance and personal liberties are being taken from them, and the 'uplifters' are going about the state appropriating to their own use, all unhindered and unnoticed, most everything that is not red hot or screwed down.

"The inside history of their operations, however, show how

insincere are all of their ravings against the corporation. Here is President Charley Van Hise, La Follette's political side-partner, a conservator of national reputation, caught red-handed getting up anti-conservation corporations with John Spry, a millionaire lumberman, one of La Follette's pet aversions, as his side partner.

"Terrible to think of, but the Milwaukee Free Press says it is so, and up to date, Van Hise does not deny it. To be sure this anti-conservation corporation venture of Van Hise's was over in Canada, but one would think that a man who stands on such high conservation grounds as our revered University President would faint at the suggestion of violating the conservation laws of our sister nation. It goes, however, to show the insincerity of the whole outfit when one of the chiefest among them is caught red-handed like that."

"You surely cannot mean, Mr. Sellem, that Senator La Follette and his co-workers are not sincere in their war on the corporations?"

"I shall not answer your question, but I will refer you to a little near-ancient history. You have, no doubt, heard La Follette and his followers—as they frothed at the mouth and tore off their collars—recount, in recent years the awful iniquities of the school book trusts in exacting high prices for the school books used by the children of the poor? If you had not heard it before, you would have heard it in plenty if you had been in the assembly chamber at times during the present session when Mahon tore himself loose on the subject of the terrible school book trust.

"That is all for present day consumption, and it serves the purpose for which it is intended; but one time in the past, one of the big school book publishing combinations contributed

a large sum in cash to La Follette's personal campaign fund. The money, in checks, was turned over to La Follette, he cashed the checks, and there has never been any denial of his having received the money, the source from which it came, or the consideration of its payment.

"The money was paid on consideration that a candidate be put in the field by the La Follette people to contest the re-election of State Supt. of Schools L. D. Harvey, a former president of the Milwaukee Normal School, an able educator, and well known to be unfriendly to the big school book combination.

"Two thousand dollars in cash was to be paid the La Follette campaign managers if they put a man in the field to oppose Supt. Harvey, and a much larger sum was promised if he should be beaten for re-election. The story will be remembered by some of the older men present, I think. I have it here in my book and, while I am reading it, please sniff now and then and see if you cannot detect the smell of tainted money.

"The following telegram was published under large headlines on the first page of the Milwaukee Sentinel on the date given:

"'Madison, July 17th, 1902.

"'To all whom it may concern.

"'Two thousand dollars was contributed by the independent book companies provided a candidate was brought into the field against Supt. Harvey. It was also agreed that a further sum, not to be less than $5,000 and perhaps amounting to $10,000, would be subscribed if Mr. Harvey was beaten for re-nomination. If the man who nominated Mr. Cary wishes further particulars, let him make a public request and detailed information will be forthcoming. Signed,

"'G. A. BUCKSTAFF.'

"On July 19th, 1902, a Sentinel reporter interviewed Theodore Kronshage in regard to the matter and the following interview with him was published under date of July 19th, 1902:

" 'Did the independent book companies promise a $2,000 contribution to the campaign fund in case another candidate was brought in to defeat Professor Harvey?'

" 'I refuse to answer that question,' Mr. Kronshage replied.

" 'Was any such proposition brought to your knowledge or made to you personally?'

" 'I cannot answer that question.'

"In this edition of the Sentinel there are a large number of statements from prominent Republicans from different parts of the state who discussed the matter, and all conclude that it was an outrageous and villainous act.

On August 16th, there was published in the Sentinel, a letter signed by Senator Stout and G. A. Buckstaff, directed to Gen. Geo. E. Bryant, as chairman of the Republican state central committee, from which the following is quoted: 'At the late state convention I was informed by a man who claims to have consummated the bargain and received the money, that he received from the independent book companies $2,000 to be used as a campaign fund, provided a candidate was brought into the field against Supt. Harvey, and a further sum of $5,000 to $10,000 was to be contributed from the same source if Mr. Harvey was defeated for the nomination.' In concluding that letter the signers demand that the matter be investigated by the Republican state central committee, and that the man who was guilty of the transaction be punished.

"Nothing was ever done in the matter by Mr. Bryant or the state central committee, although Mr. La Follette was the

boss and was running things at the time, and the matter was published in all the papers. Finally, on Sept. 13th, 1902, Gen. Geo. E. Bryant writes an open letter in which he practically says to Stout and Buckstaff that the Republican state central committee knew of no deal with any book company or companies; that they will not investigate the matter; that their time is taken up with other duties and responsibilities, and they cannot spare the time to investigate matters at this time; that it is not the duty of the organization to learn whence contributions come.

"This letter was published on the date above mentioned, at which time Gov. La Follette was a candidate for governor on the Republican ticket and was practically the boss of things.

"After this position was taken by the Republican state central committee, Senator Stout and Mr. Buckstaff, in order to give Mr. La Follette the benefit of bringing an action against them for libel, published a letter on Sept. 14th, 1902, signed at Oshkosh, by Mr. Buckstaff, and at Menomonie by Mr. Stout, which was as follows:

" 'Since the state central committee has failed to investigate the statement made by us regarding the defeat of Mr. Harvey at the state convention there seems to be no alternative but to give the matter to the public just as it came to us and let the public judge of the matter itself. Mr. Theodore Kronshage tells us that he went to Chicago and received the $2,000 in question from an agent of Ginn & Co., on the sole consideration that a candidate was brought into the field against Mr. Harvey, and the further sum of from $5,000 to $10,000 was to be contributed if the campaign against Mr. Harvey was successful. He stated that he put the money received into a

Milwaukee bank and then gave his checks for the same amount to Gov. La Follette.'

"There follows in detail the story of how this money was received; for what purpose it was received, and how Mr. Kronshage told Mr. Buckstaff and Mr. Stout about it. I will leave that part out as it is not material to the main points of the story.

" 'The governor,' Mr. Kronshage said, 'was reluctant to do this because Mr. Harvey was a very close friend of Senator Stout, who was very anxious for his renomination, while the governor was on very friendly terms with Senator Stout and wished to remain so; but Mr. Kronshage stated that the governor finally consented and said: 'If the arrangement was made he would abide by it.'

"The matter, according to Mr. Buckstaff's statement, was immediately brought to the attention of the governor and he was requested to stop the dirty deal. The story was told Mr. La Follette in the presence of Mr. Stout. The governor said he could not give up the afternoon to discussing this matter as he was preparing his speech of acceptance to the convention, and let it go at that.

"Mr. Buckstaff, in a letter, says: 'Our story was not contradicted, but La Follette merely said in some speech that his personal campaign committee was responsible for raising his campaign fund, and he did not know where it came from. His fear and fright when talking to Stout and me about the matter convinced us that he lied, and that he did know all about it before the deal was made. At any rate, he was notified by Stout and myself before the deal was consummated where the money came from and requested to stop the deal from being carried out, which he refused to do. A. R. Hall and

Gov. Hoard pleaded with him to stop it, but he refused to have anything to do with stopping the deal, even after he admitted that he received the money and applied it to his personal campaign.'

"'Kronshage's only answer to the story was that he told it to me (Buckstaff) confidentially, and that I was no gentleman to make it public or to carry it to La Follette.'

"Afterwards, La Follette is said to have written a statement and submitted it to a judge who was friendly to him, who told him that it was a plea of guilt and he had better destroy it.

"There are not two more honorable men in Wisconsin than Senator J. H. Stout (now dead) and the Hon. Geo. A. Buckstaff; this is their story and it is true.

"The gist of the matter is this: The money came from several school book publishing companies who were in a combination which meant excessively high prices for school books and, often, questionable methods with school district officers to get their books introduced. Supt. Harvey steadily opposed their methods, probably would not 'listen to reason,' and they set out to get his scalp, which they accomplished in the manner set forth by Mr. Buckstaff."

"There is some of the inside personal, political history of your man with the halo, Elder, that you would never see in La Follette's Weekly in a million years. Take your time to get your breath, but what do you think of it?"

"W-hy, really, Mr. Sellem, I am afraid that I must entirely disbelieve the story. It must have been simply newspaper talk due to bad feeling engendered during the heat of the campaign. I cannot believe that Senator La Follette would

stoop to do such a dishonest deed as that story claims he did. No. I cannot believe it."

"No, Elder, I did not expect you to believe it. Like tens of thousands of others in the state, you cannot, will not believe anything wrong of the man with the pompadour and halo. Well, the story as I give it to you was printed in several newspapers at the time, and if untrue there were plenty of grounds for a libel suit calling for heavy damages. As far as I have ever heard, the story has never been denied by La Follette and no libel suit has ever been brought.

"Speaking of bygone times and men, this can be said of the managers of the old Republican state machine: they paid the expenses of running their machine out of their own pockets and did not attempt to saddle them on the tax payers. That was one of La Follette's first inventions; though his first start, the game warden's and oil inspector's departments, were crude indeed compared to his latest, the state commission. The last of these come right up to the standard of the latest 'uplift' business: but when we get right down to the real science of legalized political graft, the new conservation commission, and the laws under which it operates, beat the whole aggregation as a Durham bull beats a bull pup. That is where Bob's secret and silent partner, Charley Van Hise, begins to be seen, though dimly, across the stage.

"This new conservation commission will afford vast and before unworked opportunities for adding thousands more La Follette workers to the state's pay rolls, where the pay will be large and sure and the work easy. Gangs of men will be sent to wade up the creeks in search of possible water power sites upon which additional taxes may be levied; other

gangs will be sent north into the lake country during the summer where fishing is good and the days and nights nice and cool; later, during the hunting season, other gangs will be sent into the deer country; gangs of fire fighters will be sent up where roams the fierce hodag to smell for smoke; others will be sent out to hunt for sprouts for reforesting the pine barrens, sand hills, and gravel knolls; and a great army will fill the big northern woods that will chase off the deer, scare away the ducks, and give the nervous jim-jams to all the big fish—and the tax payers will pay for the whole circus.

"There will be big conservation headquarters at Madison and sub-stations of conservation at the best hunting and fishing points in northern Wisconsin. There will be porters and teamsters, clerks and bookkeepers, stenographers and cooks, and the Lord only knows how many more. There will be summer outings for Mac's lieutenants from the City of Beer—if the beer gives out they will have to take water. There will be other outings for Van Hise's professor boys and—oh, jimminy! was there ever such a political picnic invented before?

"I see that Bob's goody-goody little boys in the legislature are going to quit legislating for a while and go on a smelling expedition.

"Yes, that is the next thing, I believe."

"What smelling expedition is that?"

"Why the fact of the matter is, Mr. Jackson, they are going to try to put up a bunco job on the United States Senate—get it to investigate the campaign of Senator Stephenson in 1908-09. The thing is so flimsey that they dare not undertake the job themselves and are going to get the United States

Senate to do it. Those who are fathering it—Senator Blaine and others—claim that they believe that Senator Stephenson must have spent a lot of money in that campaign that was not spent strictly according to the political gospel according to Saint Bob; and they are going to see about it or they will know b'gosh why! Some of the fellows who have been smelling around on their own hooks, have been telling that nice bunch of spellbinders, cheap ward politicians, and 'uplifters' in general, now in the senate and assembly, that Uncle Ike must have spent as many as 'steen dollars for white pop, brown pop, stick candy, and other dissipations in that campaign; and if he did they vumed it was wrong. Nothing of that kind may be done legally in Wisconsin unless O. K'd. by Robert Marion La Follette.

"Senator Blaine has been much wrought up over it for a long time, and he just aches, from the ingrown toe-nail on his left hind foot, to the seventh story of his cloud-piercing, soulful word output. The idea of any man spending money like that for political work in Bob's bailiwick in opposition to his wishes! Senator Blaine reminds me of a story.

"At a murder trial, two men, interested spectators, were noting certain evidence just put in that was very damaging to the defendant's case, and one of them remarked: 'That evidence will surely convict him.'

" 'It will not only convict him, it will hang him,' replied the other.

" 'Man alive! they don't hang murderers in New York.'

" 'What do they do with them?'

" 'They kill them with elocution.' "

"What do you think Sellem, is their idea in starting this

new investigation of Senator Stephenson? They worked it all over once and failed to make out anything."

"If you want my private opinion of this and the other dirty dope the present Legislature is handing out to him, Mr. Webber, I will say that I think they are trying to worry Senator Stephenson to death."

"I hadn't thought of that, but maybe you are right."

"It is like this: La Follette badly needs one of 'his men' in the senate; some one who will work under his orders while he is absent from his senatorial duties—which is the most of the time. I understand that during the past session he was only in the senate chamber twenty-three times; and some of those scarce visits were of no more than fifteen minutes duration. Either McGovern or Lenroot would fill the role of 'his man' very nicely; but there is Senator Stephenson with about four years more to serve. Though he looks and acts like a man ten years or more younger, Senator Stephenson is now 82 years old, and there is no telling what effect this continual heaping of public indignities upon him might have upon a man of that age who has been, for more than half a century, one of the most respected and honored men in the state. He might pass away under it. Yes, I think they are trying to worry the old man to death.

"There were things that happened in that senatorial campaign of 1908 that La Follette's puppets in the Legislature will not care to have investigated. You may not have heard the story and I will give it to you. It is short and the title is 'The Things That the Inner Circle Did to Wm. H. Hatton's Candidacy for the United States Senate.'

"Among the broad gauged men who early became interested

in the Progressive movement in Wisconsin was Wm. H. Hatton of New London, for two terms state senator from that district. To him more than to any one else is due the perfection and passage of the railway commission law; and to him and a few of his colleagues, then in the Progressive ranks, is due the fact that there were two good men on the first railway commission instead of only one, as La Follette had planned it.

"In his campaign for United States senator, Senator Hatton was clearly entitled to the loyal support of La Follette and his lieutenants; and to a man who does not know of the Inner Circle and its devious ways, it seems strange that he did not have that support. There was a reason, however, and its name was Bob.

"Every man who works with La Follette in politics must work **under** him. Since N. Bonaparte, Esq., there has never been a more testy little dictator. Now do not all of you cite me the united and unanimous testimony of his followers that there never was such a dear, sweet little boss as is Bob. That is what appears on the surface; but like all of this La Follette business, what the general public sees and is taught to believe, and what is actually going on behind inside doors and partitions are two entirely different matters. Once in a while, some man who has been behind the scenes and, afterwards, escaping to the broad light of day, tells what he saw 'in behind there.' That is how we are gradually finding out things.

"In the work of the Legislature, Mr. Hatton was good enough Progressive for the most exacting, and he made good; but he couldn't 'square' with the Inner Circle. Since long before 1908, La Follette has been fixing things for his advent into the White House, and when that terrible thing happens,

the Wisconsin delegations in both senate and house must be, as nearly as possible 'his men.' Senator Hatton is not that kind of a man. If he went to the senate he would be simply Senator Hatton of Wisconsin, playing second fiddle to no man in the national capital. La Follette has long known this, and his previous knowledge of the man was emphasized by it being necessary several times, during the consideration of the railway commission bill, for Senator Hatton to tell 'Governor Bob' 'where to head in at.'

"Hatton is not of a very aggressive disposition, but once having taken his bearings so as to know where he stands and he is as firm as a rock. Of a tall, commanding figure and a little dignified in bearing, he will attract attention in any company. Altogether he is not a man to be bossed by any one, in politics or anything else. As United States senator, he would take rank with the strong men in the senate; and it would be Senator Hatton, not La Follette's man Hatton.

"Another consideration was that if Hatton were elected he would certainly want more than one term. Old age would neither disbar him nor kill him for a long time to come. Opposed to Hatton in this consideration were McGovern, Lenroot, and several other real nice young men who, as senators, with La Follette there to tell them what to do and how to do it would make up the ideal Progressive situation, i. e., La Follette and 'his men.' Of course that was the way it should be. 'Begone, you Hatton man! What you buttin' into this game for anyway?'

"Hatton couldn't have it, but no one they knew could call him off, and the Inner Circle sat on the case. Here was a truly deplorable situation: A clear road open to the United

States senate; any one of several of the Inner Circle boys ready to gird up his loins and hike for the promised land; and here was that Hatton person bulking his large form right in the middle of the road, blocking the way.

"Well, they studied and stewed, they cussed and cau-cussed, till finally a terrible but reasonably sure way out was devised. Senator Stephenson, the present incumbent, was an old man, nearly 80 years old, and from the nature of things could not hang on much longer, either to life or the senatorship. He was determined to try for another term and, with his great wealth and the knowledge of the game possessed by him and his friends, he would probably poll the most of the Stalwart vote in the primary election. Cook would pull some of the near-Stalwart and some of the La Follette farmer vote but stood no show. Hatton, if running as the only Halfbreed candidate, would surely get the nomination. It would not do, at that time, to openly support another Halfbreed than Hatton as he was generally recognized as entitled to the senatorship, and with his large acquaintance and the high regard in which he was held by the followers of La Follette, it would be poor politics to openly oppose him.

"This then was the situation: Either put a second Halfbreed candidate in the field to act as a 'dummy' to draw enough votes to give the nomination to Senator Stephenson and take the long chance of beating him in the Legislature, or the dreadful alternative of having one of Wisconsin's senatorial seats filled for a long period by one who would certainly refuse to fill the role of 'La Follette's man.' It was a terrible time for the Inner Circle but there was no other way out and they decided that Stephenson must be allowed to take the nomination.

Senator Stephenson Paid McGovern's Campaign Expenses.

"McGovern was selected for the undesirable role of the 'dummy' candidate with the promise that he should be the next governor, and the understanding that if, for any reason Stephenson failed of nomination or election, the plum should fall to him. The question then arose as to where the money was to come from to pay the costs of the campaign which, at the pace that would be set by Stephenson, Hatton and Cook, would take a lot of money. This was something of a poser, but it was finally decided that if proper representations were made **Senator Stephenson might be induced to 'put up' for the campaign expenses; and, as the sequel showed, this was what was done.**"

CHAPTER IV.

The Evening Post 'interview.'

"I see that La Follette has been interviewed by The Saturday Evening Post. It seems that, previous financial arrangements having been made, the Evening Post men waylaid Bob, knocked him down, bound and gagged him, and then extracted that 'interview' from his inside pocket where some designing person had placed it, after composing and typewriting it with great care. It seems, also, that Bob chanced to have, in that same inside pocket, a daguerreotype of himself taken when he was a little care-free, barefoot boy, before visions of game warden, oil inspector, commission, or other public grafts had, as yet, disturbed the placed life of this infantile man; or the buzzing of presidential bumblebees had tickled his ear; and the Evening Post man got that daguerreotype, that memento of Bob's innocent boyhood days. That picture is reproduced on the first page of The Saturday Evening Post of July 8th; and I see that even at that early age Bob wore his hair pompadour, showing, even in the boy, one of his elements of greatness as the man.

"Bob tells the Evening Post man that one time, in the treasury suit cases, Senator Sawyer most broke his innocent heart trying to bribe him. Well, now that Senator Sawyer has been dead these many years, he may tell that story to the Evening Post man, or to the marines; but do not tell it to any man who knew Senator Sawyer, one of the most careful, secretive men about his private affairs that ever lived. Certainly he would not have made such a proposition as that to Bob La

Follette, known to him at that time, even, to be the unreliable party that later 'friends' have found him to be.

"As given in the Post interview, La Follette's story of the attempted bribery is as follows: 'To put it briefly, the attorney-general of Wisconsin had instituted suit against the former state treasurers to recover interest on state funds deposited in banks for a period of about twenty years. Senator Sawyer was bondsman for many of these state treasurers and he was sued personally for about three hundred thousand dollars. In a month the cases were to come up for trial before Circuit Judge Siebecker, a brother-in-law of Senator La Follette.'

"Philetus Sawyer was the senior United States Senator from Wisconsin—the political boss of the state, and a multi-millionaire lumberman who loved his money too well to part with a dollar of it except for a material or political **quid pro quo.** And the Senator's friends claimed the old man had been 'good' to La Follette when the Representative from the Madison District had entered Congress—a green young man of thirty.

"Sawyer, alarmed about the treasury cases, in desperation turned to La Follette, asking him to come to the Plankinton Hotel, Milwaukee. Thinking it was a political conference, La Follette met the appointment. The old money-hoarding lumberman and the young attorney shook hands in the hotel parlor. But let La Follette tell the story.

" 'Sawyer began by saying that no one knew he was going to meet me. He said at once that he wanted to talk about the treasury cases; said he didn't want to retain me and that he was worried about the cases. I can see his expression now as he talked—the old man who feared that his money was to be taken from him. I was so intent watching his face that I did not see that he had his pocket book in one hand and a roll of

bills in the other. Almost before I saw the money, Sawyer tried to press the bills into my hand, saying: "There will be more money when Judge Siebecker decides the cases right."

"'La Follette's face was stern. All the kindliness had gone from his blue-gray eyes; they were dark—ominous. The smile had left his mouth. His expression was menacing.'

'If he hadn't been an old man'—he said, and then with a wave of hand dismissed the scene.'"

"This is La Follette's story of the Plankinton Hotel meeting, though not exactly as he told it at the time. You older men will recall it as, at the time, the story occupied considerable newspaper space. All men, however, who knew Senator Sawyer intimately, know well the improbability of any such thing ever having occurred.

"All there was to the case was that, a short time before the cases came to trial, Senator Sawyer, others of the treasurer's bondsmen, and their attorneys, at a meeting held in Oshkosh to talk over the cases, saw the need of having a lawyer on the case who resided at Madison. La Follette was well known to them, and others interested, not Sawyer, suggested that he be retained. It was then and there arranged that Senator Sawyer see La Follette and retain him in the usual way by paying him a retaining fee.

"The meeting was arranged with La Follette at the Plankinton Hotel and one of the other defendant bondsmen went to Milwaukee with Senator Sawyer. This man was with Sawyer at the Plankinton Hotel; saw him go to the hotel parlors to meet La Follette; saw them when they came down stairs from the meeting, arm in arm, and apparently on the most friendly terms.

"This man is a big business man, well-known to business

men about the state; and his story is that the Plankinton Hotel meeting terminated that way. And yet, in his speeches and writings, La Follette says he left Sawyer in the parlor, left him in anger; and refused further to speak to him or listen to him. Which is likely to be the true story?

"Working from the standpoint of our later knowledge of La Follette's political long-headed-ness, his entire lack of veracity or principle in political matters; and his readiness to sacrifice and use in any manner that might yield him political advantage, any of his friends, even those to whom he is under the most binding obligations, the true solution is about as follows:

"The Democratic party had recently come into control of the state after a campaign based partly on the Bennet Law issue, and partly on their alleged mismanagement of state affairs by the Republican party, of which Senator Sawyer was, at that time, the undisputed boss. They had been assisted in the campaign by the united efforts of the Catholic and Lutheran churches, and as these two church organizations had been antagonistic for centuries, every one well knew that the combination could last no longer than its apparent need to protect their parochial schools. The Republicans largely outnumbered the Democrats in the state, and it was reasonably certain that they would come into control again in the near future.

"Knowing La Follette as we do now, his mental operations in the case are easy to understand. Believing that the Republicans were certain to be returned to power in the near future, and that Sawyer, as manager of the Republican organization, had been very much discredited in the minds of many thousands of the Republican voters by the persistent campaign of misrepresentation made by the Democrats in the campaign just

closed; in the setting of this attempt by Senator Sawyer to retain him in the treasury suit cases, he thought he saw an opportunity to further discredit Sawyer and himself supplant him in control of the Republican organization.

"The fact that his success in such an undertaking meant serious injury, in state and nation, to the good name and high prestige of his friend and benefactor would not deter him in the least. It never has in other similar cases. La Follette's persistent attempts to get the Republican nomination for governor, directly following the attempted bribery story, until he finally succeeded in 1900, is proof enough to those who know the man that his attempt to turn this dirty trick on Senator Sawyer was his first important move to obtain political control of the state.

"That La Follette should do such a thing as this to Senator Sawyer, his friend and benefactor, may be hard for the average man to understand; but he did similar things to Stephenson, Babcock, Connor, and the most of the big business and monied men who put him where he is to-day. Think of the indecency of the man, giving out for publication at this day, an old, disputed political tale like that to be read by millions of readers who never could hear the other side of the story. His personal unsupported story about a man, long since dead, whose personal integrity had never before been called in question. A man who had been honored several times by the State of Wisconsin by an election as United States Senator, and who, at the Nation's Capital, had always been accorded high standing by right of his own fine personal qualities.

"There are two paragraphs in the Post interview that are gems; here they are: 'La Follette's face was stern; all the kindliness had gone out of his blue-gray eyes; they were dark—ominous. The smile had left his mouth. His expression was

menacing.' 'If he hadn't been an old man,' he said, and with a wave of the hand dismissed the scene.'

"That means that La Follette intimated to the Post man that if Senator Sawyer hadn't been an old man he would have punched his face, or stove in his slats, or that some other kind of personal violence would have been visited upon him. I have heard you say, Mr. Webber, that you were well acquainted with Senator Sawyer when he was a comparatively young man. What do you think would have happened to that little sawed-off if he had tried to chastise that big husky lumberman—say when he was about La Follette's age at the time of the Plankinton Hotel meeting?"

"What do I think would have happened to him? Well, I think that Mr. Sawyer would have taken him across his knees and spanked him good. Mr. Sawyer was about five feet eight or nine inches tall, square built, and weighed about two hundred and twenty-five pounds. Though usually a good-natured man, he was sure to stand up for himself, and it was never safe to monkey with him. And Bob La Follette made such a crack as that to the Evening Post man? Well, the darn little runt!"

"La Follette tells the Evening Post man what a fine thing the Wisconsin Railway Rate Commission is and how much it is liked by the corporate interests of the state. He did not tell him, however, that he had a bill drafted for a railway rate commission law that was practically a copy of the Texas law; that he told different members of the legislature that the Texas railway rate commission law was exactly what he wanted for Wisconsin; that he tried his best to have this copy of the Texas law enacted; that, in the Assembly, where his orders were law, it did pass, but was turned down by the Senate; that a sub-committee consisting of Senators Hatton, Hudnall, and John-

son, re-drafted the bill, or rather wrote a new bill which they introduced as a substitute. This finally passed both houses and is the present law.

"La Follette sings the praises of the first members of the Railway Rate Commission, claiming special credit for the appointment of John Barnes to the Commission. He fails, however, to give the inside history of the way John Barnes came to be appointed to the Commission.

"The real facts in that case are as follows: One of the three men appointed by La Follette to the new Railway Commission was so objectionable to even the Progressives of the Senate that they refused to confirm him—the members were appointed subject to confirmation; and after trying in vain to induce La Follette to withdraw his name and appoint another, a fit man, for the very important position and, after having, after much labor, induced John Barnes, 'an expert on railway law and a Democrat,' to serve on the Commission, La Follette only yielded by withdrawing the name of 'his man' and appointing John Barnes when the ultimatum of the Senate was conveyed to him that it was John Barnes for one of the Commissioners or no commission.

"Fortunately for Wisconsin, there were in the Senate at that time, Wm. H. Hatton, J. H. Stout, Geo. B. Hudnall, and a number of others who, though working to reform corporate abuses, did not wear La Follette's collar; and the bill they constructed, not the Texas law that La Follette wanted them to copy, became the Railway Commission law of the state.

"La Follette says nothing of W. D. Hoard who, as editor and orator, with able voice and pen in private life, and as governor of the state, fought for the reformation of corporate abuses long before La Follette was known in the work. He

said nothing of A. R. Hall, the veteran in the cause who, in the Assembly, fought for railway regulation for years while Bob La Follette, playing the ultra-conservative dodge, was trying his best to land in high official position within the old Republican state machine. He has not a word to say in commendation of the work of Senator Wm. H. Hatton who, as Chairman of the Senate Railway Committee, did more than any other man to construct the Railway Commission Law and secure the votes to pass it.

"Sometime I will tell you the story of the making of that Railway Commission Law and the appointment of the first commission under the law, and it will surprise you. With Bob La Follette telling the story, however, it is 'I,' 'I,' 'I,'—nobody did anything but I—Bob La Follette.'

Van Hise Publically Announces That the University is in Politics.

"There is another matter that La Follette touches upon in that Evening Post interview that is becoming very interesting to the taxpayers; and that is the secret, but to many, well-known political partnership between him and President Van Hise of the State University.

"Again quoting from the Evening Post interview: On page four, second column, La Follette says: 'Careful and thoroughgoing investigation and the solution of legislative problems upon a scientific basis—laboratory work in which the experts of the State University and the representatives of the people work in harmony—that is our way of doing things in Wisconsin.' Keep that about the State University in your minds while I quote from the other partner. Here are some extracts from the commencement address of President Van Hise, made at the University June 22nd, 1910.

"'But a university must insist that the whole domain of physical and human phenomana belong within its scope—pure science, applied science, POLITICS, morals, religion, are proper fields of study for a university. Shall a university be free to teach that a certain practice in agriculture is wrong and advocate a new and improved practice, and the same principles not apply to POLITICS and morals. * * * The unrest which has characterized the first decade of the twentieth century has led to many proposals in many fields. * * * With reference to such conditions, it has sometimes been said that a university should keep hands off; that it should take no part in their consideration; that it should let the battle be fought without any attempt at leadership. THIS POSITION THE UNIVERSITY AUTHORITIES AND ITS FRIENDS MUST FIRMLY RESIST.'

"'In times of unrest, when new and important issues are arising, when old convictions are being questioned, is a time when men of learning who know history, who should know the facts broadly, and who have no other motive than the greatest good of the greatest number, should be absolutely free. If at times those who should be leaders do not throw their intellect and influence in the right direction, there is danger that demagogy and passion may lead in wrong directions with resultant disaster. It is because of the general unrest that I again formulate the principles in reference to a free university, well established for a hundred years, lest by any deviation from it at a critical time, the University of Wisconsin shall fail to do its duty to the state and nation. * * * Times of unrest are not the times for the university to trim; they are times to set every sail, from the main to the sky-sails, that all may draw. The state has a right to demand of the university expert service in

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valuing a public utility; it has equally the right to demand expert service in POLITICS and sociology.'

"That, gentlemen, is the public, unreserved statement, that the State University is in politics; and we know that it is La Follette politics, the most partisan brand of politics that the people of the state ever knew. Men of all parties pay taxes to support the University; and yet here is its president, a violently partisan politician of the La Follette brand, openly using the University in support of factional politics and proclaiming his sacred right to do so.

"Let us examine into the position Van Hise is placed by this declaration of political activity by the University—and that means the University authorities—coupled with the well-known facts in the case. All through La Follette's political work in Wisconsin, Van Hise has been his secret, but none the less efficient political aid.

"The University belongs to the state and all the property in the state is taxed to support it. Under the administration of Van Hise it is an enormously expensive proposition, and the costs of running the institution are increasing at a tremendous rate. For the school year of 1893-4 the cost of running the University was $393,743.63. For the school year of 1903-4 the cost was $771,053.36. For the school year of 1909-10 the cost was about $1,797,000. This was a jump in the University expenses of over $1,000,000 per year at the end of the six-year period during which the La Follette-Van Hise-University combination had been constructing their machine and making sure their grip upon the political and taxing power of the state. I have not the figures for 1910-11, but it will run over two million dollars, and, no doubt, the cost of 1911-12 will run near $2,500,000.

"Van Hise is employed by the state; his salary is paid by taxes collected from men who are members of all political parties: and yet, along with La Follette's statement to the Saturday Evening Post man that the University is his political aid, comes this public, unequivocal declaration by President Van Hise that the University is in politics; and it is so well-known as to be beyond dispute that it is La Follette politics.

"If needed, there are plenty of other proofs of the political partnership between La Follette and the University management. Now that A. R. Hall, the veteran anti-corporation legislator is dead, W. D. Hoard of Fort Atkinson, who, long before La Follette was known in the work, took a prominent part in the earlier movements to reform corporation abuses, is the oldest in point of service of the old-time reformers, or progressives, as the men of the new generation of reformers call themselves. The older generation of reformers were not in the work for personal gain. They were not seeking to build up new parties for themselves, nor did they seek to create factional breaks in the old parties that they might gain personal profit from the strife. Their work was sincere; and though they were not able to accomplish very much, some things they did do; they started the work, put it on a solid foundation, and left with men of all parties in abiding faith in their sincerity.

"Mr. Hoard was the founder and is the editor of Hoard's Dairyman, the leading authority on dairying and dairy farming in the United States. He was governor of the state for the term of 1889-90; has always been the farmer's champion and friend; no man stands higher in the estimation of the people; and no man can say aught against his personal integrity. He was La Follette's most able supporter until 1906, when, having resigned as governor to become United States Senator, La Follette tried

to beat former Lieutenant-Governor, now Governor Davidson, out of the next term as governor—which all fair-minded men believed was his due—and make Lenroot governor.

"Abiding by his right of sense and justice, Mr. Hoard refused to follow La Follette's lead in the matter, but supported Davidson. Any one who has kept track of political happenings in Wisconsin for the past ten or twelve years will know what happened to Mr. Hoard after that. La Follette had no more time for him. He could not afford to break with him openly, however, his influence with the farmers was too great; and he feared his caustic pen. So Mr. Hoard remained on the Board of University Regents.

"As Van Hise's intention to make the University a working part of the La Follette machine became more and more apparent, and all of the members appointed to the board were seen to be mere 'La Follette men,' and the Board of Regents which is, or should be, the governing authority of the University, was fast being made into an instrument for registering the will of Van Hise, such old-tried members as Magnus Swenson and W. D. Hoard could not remain longer on the board and retain their self respect. Swenson went first, then Hoard. Here is Hoard's letter of resignation to Governor McGovern:

" 'Fort Atkinson, Wis., March 22nd, 1911.

" 'The Hon. Francis E. McGovern,

" 'Madison, Wis.

" 'Sir:

I hereby tender my resignation from the Board of University Regents, to take effect at once. Failing health and an unwillingness to longer remain as a member of a body that has lately been reconstructed upon the basis and for the purpose of

political partisanship for the La Follette faction in politics are my chief reasons for resigning.

'I do not believe that a great school like our University can be wisely, honestly, or efficiently administered from so narrow standpoint. Respectfully yours,

W. D. Hoard.'

"Well, of course Mr. Hoard started something. McGovern rushed into print with vehement disclaimers against there being anything political in either the appointments made to the board or anything connected with the administration of the University. Then followed a hot newspaper controversy; but the windup of it was that men who knew Mr. Hoard knew that he told the truth. Magnus Swenson, who resigned before Mr. Hoard, had given about the same reasons for his resignation; and people who had kept track of University matters knew that when W. D. Hoard talked that way there was something in it. Not long after his resignation—April 14th, 1911, the following editorial from the pen of Mr. Hoard appeared in the Jefferson County Union, a local paper published at Fort Atkinson, Wis.:

"**'How Innocent of Politics.'**

"'The great triumvirate that are at present controlling the destinies of the Wisconsin, La Follette, Van Hise, and McGovern, all for its own sake they say and not for the sake of La Folletteism, are three of the most innocent parties ever caught with the goods in their possession. For the first we will give him the credit of saying that he is too smart to open his mouth when the charge of playing the game of politics is made; for he knows that all discerning men know that he never drew a breath, or had a purpose, or made a move anywhere, that was not steeped in politics of his own particular, selfish sort. Like the Wolf, he knows that by this time, the wolfish nature of his

politics is clear to all except the misguided voter who dreams that he is an honest bell-weather. Witness his wolfish attacks on the President, his disregard of the primary law or any other true and lawful consideration that he thinks stands in the way of his consuming ambition.

" 'But of the three, the most transparent and disingenuous is Van Hise. He has lately been flooding the state with mimeograph sheets, at the expense of the state, declaring that the charges made by W. D. Hoard, of political purpose in the organization of the Board of Regents were false. As for himself, he says that he is no politician. Oh, no! He wouldn't know a politics from a Dinosaurus if he should meet the two on the University campus. His whole life and purpose is given up to the loftiest ideals concerning the University and the throwing up of conservation earth-works from behind which he can send out covert attacks on Ballinger and other public officials, and bring in Pinchot and the other La Follette politicians who are following the fortunes of the man who made him president of the University.

" 'The other day he was at Oyster Bay, urging Roosevelt to cast his lot with La Follette and the insurgents, using his position as the head of the Wisconsin University, and the money paid him by the state to attend to the interests of the institution, to play a part in the game of La Follette politics. Oh, no! the University is not being used for politics. Van Hise don't know one politics from another, and McGovern hasn't selected a Board of Regents at his solicitation who he fondly hoped would stand by him in his deep laid game of prostituting the University to the uses of a politicial faction. Was there ever a cat with her head over a cream pitcher who could look more innocent of designs on the aforesaid cream or mew more

disinterestedly than can Van Hise? The old Board of Regents stood up against him in his schemes and did what they could to keep him in his place. It remains to be seen whether the present board will control the University and the President, as the law directs, or whether it will be turned over to La Follette, Van Hise, and McGovern, as a plaything in the interests of insurgent politics.'"

"Mr. Hoard was for a long time a member of the Board of Regents of the University, president of the board for several years; and he did far more than any one to bring the Agricultural Department of the University to its present high state of efficiency. He was La Follette's most efficient backer until the Lenroot-Davidson campaign of 1906; he has no designs for political advancement, either for himself or any of his friends; his personal integrity has never been questioned; and when he talks like that, he has good and sufficient grounds for his accusations. Now go back to La Follette's story to the Evening Post man about his faction working with the experts of the State University, and you must be very dull indeed, all of you, if you cannot see the connection.

"The charge has been made by high authority that, by its constant encroachments upon the authority of the regularly constituted officers in charge of the state's public school system, as well as its constant meddling into the general internal affairs of Wisconsin, the University under Van Hise is fast reaching a position to dominate the whole state. History tells us of many nations having been ruled by the church, always with resulting disaster in the end. Priests and college professors are alike in being nearly all—narrow. At this late day in the centuries, do the people of Wisconsin wish to revert back to ancient or medieval times?"

CHAPTER V.

The Organization.

"The La Follette organization is often referred to, in conversation and in the public press; but so secret is its work and so perfect is the discipline in its ranks that no one who has not been on the inside can have any idea as to what the thing really is. In fact, most 'La Follette men outside of the ring' would resent the insinuation that there is anything secret about it; and they cannot be made to comprehend the way the voters are being fooled and the electorate board with double-knotted bonds.

"The state organization is made up of many minor organizations, or units; each unit—except in the larger cities—being usually comprised in a single voting precinct. Each minor organization is independent of all the others and takes its orders direct from the Inner Circle, with headquarters at Madison. The work of the minor organizations is as follows: I will describe the work and handling of a unit, comprising a city of about 3,000 inhabitants, polling 500 votes in the primary election of 1910; this unit being run by the local La Follette boss, assisted by about a dozen 'workers.'

"When the time arrived to begin on the primary election campaign, this band of 'La Follette men' assembled in an upper room, safely guarded from observation or intrusion. Having previously received his orders from the Inner Circle, the local boss gave them an outline as to whom they were to support for the different state officers, United States Senator, Congressman, Assemblyman and State Senator.

"You will bear in mind that, except in the cases of the county officers, which are usually disposed of by the local county organizations, these little matters as to whom the 'La Follette men' are to support at the primary elections are worked out for them by the Inner Circle; thus taking all of this brain work from the heads of the dear 'common people' and leaving them free to devote their time and strength to their allotted tasks of hustling around to raisé money to pay their taxes.

"Properly instructed, the workers begin. The poll lists—or copies of them—from the spring election, had been previously obtained, and the names were read off and tabulated under the following plan: All who were considered to be good 'La Follette men,' who could not be swerved by any consideration, were put on one list; another list contained all who were considered to be dead sure against them. As there was no use of wasting time or money on the voters in those two classes, this process of elimination simplified the task of the workers very much. In this city with about 500 voters, something over 300 were thus eliminated, leaving less than 200 to be handled by the boss and his workers. Then the names of new comers into the city since the spring election were carefully listed, catalogued, and added to the proper lists.

"When this work was finished, the boss said: 'Now Joe will read off the names of the uncertain voters and the floaters, and when the name of a man is read that any one of you thinks he can handle, or if he knows any one outside that he thinks can handle him, say so and put him on your list for work.'

"In this way, the different lists were gone over and each 'worker' was given a certain number of the doubtful and uncertain voters to handle. Under this system, as worked in every voting precinct in the state, every voter who is not known

to be dead sure, for, or against them, is listed, catalogued, and has a man placed over him to 'handle' him. Do you wonder now at the ability of the La Follette Organization to poll its solid vote for a dead man, as was done for dead man Tucker, candidate for Attorney-General in the primary election of 1910?

"This work, you understand, is all 'star chamber' work, and only the local bosses and workers and the members of the Inner Circle at Washington and Madison know what is going on. And yet, as he adjusts his halo to its proper relation to his pompadour, Bob La Follette claims, on the Chautauqua lecture platforms, in his articles and interviews in the muckrake magazines, and in his stump speeches out in the rural districts, that 'The people rule'—in Wisconsin.

"When there is any special work to be done, as in the case of polling the La Follette vote for dead man Tucker, the Inner Circle sends out notices to the local bosses of the different precincts as to what is to be done, and the matter is attended to without fail. In the case of the primary election of 1910, a majority of the Republican votes could have been polled for the dead man with one day's notice as well as with three. And yet, at every possible opportunity, La Follette tells it to the people of the nation that 'the people rule'—in Wisconsin.

"As much as to anything, the dreadful efficiency of the La Follette organization is due to its extreme simplicity. There is no red tape, no intermediate, complicated channels of communication through which orders must go from 'headquarters' to the local bosses. When the Inner Circle has decided upon whom they want for United States Senator, Congressman, or state officers, secret advises are sent direct to the precinct managers, either by special messenger or other secret methods of communication, as to whom the support of the organization is

to be given, and the work is done. In most cases no explanation need be given, no reasons assigned, simply 'orders.'

"Much of this messenger work between the Inner Circle and the precinct managers is done by the many minor state officers whose traveling expenses, even while engaged in this private work, are paid by the state. This fact is not generally known, and most people would not believe it if the fact were given the widest publication, but to my personal knowledge, state officers whose offices are at Madison, some of them drawing high salaries, have spent weeks at a time traveling about the state doing nothing but attending to political work for La Follette and the other state officers, in the interest of the Organization. And not only their salaries, but their traveling expenses as well have been paid by the state while engaged in this work. These cases are above, and different, from those of the oil inspectors, game wardens, and other minor officials whose use as political workers pure and simple are so notorious as to be beyond comment, even.

"Usually in the cases of the more important state officers, and always in the cases of candidates for United States Senator or Congressman, the big boss at Washington gives his orders to the Inner Circle as to who is to be given their support in primary campaigns; as that tight litle bunch of office-holders is just as much subject to La Follette's orders as are the managers of the precinct organizations to the Inner Circle. After the members of the Inner Circle are told what they are to do, they notify the precinct bosses what the game is and, except in exceptional cases, they need not bother any more about it, but are free to resume their normal and regular occupations of drawing their salaries."

"But you have not told us, Sellem, how the workers in these

local organizations are kept in line. It has been my observation that political workers must, in some way, be paid for their work if they are to be kept in line."

"That is the rule, Mr. Strike, and this case is no exception; but political obligations may be paid in various ways. Some of these petty bosses and workers are county officers, some are town and city officers; and many, very many, of them hold some of the many offices and 'jobs' that have been progressively, thoughtfully, and systematically provided by La Follette and his organization since they have been 'progressing' in our state. The greater part of the legislative work of the past two sessions has been devoted to providing for these good 'La Follette men.' You will have no difficulty in recalling many of these new state official 'snaps'; they include game wardens, oil and factory inspectors, members of the many different state boards, bureaus, their employes, and hangers-on, the principals and subordinates of the many state commissions, their thousands of clerks, inspectors, stenographers, bookkeepers, porters, and men-of-all-work.

"Out in the state, many of the workers and backers are supporters of the higher state officials and are usually taken care of by their superiors in one way and another—but always at the ultimate expense of the taxpayer.

"Others of the workers 'live in hopes.' Knowing that 'good things' are always in the making, would-be office holders are content to 'stay in line' and work for the Organization with the promise that when anything good opens up that they can handle they shall have it.

"Much of the pay for political services is by appointment to more or less official positions in and around the capitol during sessions of the Legislature. These are all promised far in ad-

vance, however, and if any good and true 'La Follette man' —not a regular worker nor an office-holder—does not know that all of the Legislative positions are parcelled out and promised by the professional politicians far back during the campaign, let him, any time after the November elections make application for one of these legislative positions; and note what a nice, smoothly-worded typewritten letter he will get in reply, telling him that the writer is awfully sorry, but there are so many applications for the position—in fact all of the positions—that anti-date his that, etc., etc.,—! A little experience along this line as to this particular political game will probably teach him that all of these legislative 'positions' are reserved for paying political debts; and the corrupt practices act does not touch this form of compensation for political work.

"The whole business is of the 'star chamber' order, hidden and misleading; and for the past ten to twelve years, the voters of the state have been misled and fooled, and the state has been ruled by a little oligarchy of less than twenty men dominated by Bob La Follette; and the taxpayers of the state are paying tribute to the amount of several million dollars each year as the price of that kind of ring rule. The election machinery is so fixed by the primary election law that La Follette, or any man whom he favors, can take any office in the state, or in the gift of the state, and no one can say him nay; and this little oligarchy composed of a few persistent office holders at Madison and Washington rule the state with as much certainty as the Czar and the Grand Dukes rule Russia."

"That is an utterly absurd statement, Mr. Sellem. Why do you say such things when, under the operation of the primary election law, as has been shown many times by Senator La

Follette and the other Progressive statesmen, the people—the common people—rule as never before."

"No doubt you think so, Elder, but will you believe me if I show you, from the official records, that under the primary election law, five-sixths of the voters of the state never have anything to say as to who the United States Senators from the state shall be, who any of the state officers shall be, who shall make the laws and say how the public funds of the state shall be expended?"

"No, sir! I do not think it possible for me to believe any such utterly absurd and unreasonable thing as that, no matter what proofs you give to support your statements."

"No, Elder, I did not expect that you could be brought to believe anything to the discredit of your idol. Like most good 'La Follette men' no proof of wrong-doing on the part of Saint Bob make any impression on your mind. Like king-worshipping sycophants of monarchial countries, you believe that 'the king can do no wrong': but the cold facts of the case are that a small minority, never exceeding one-sixth of the legal voters of the state, effectually—and to the most of the 'La Follette men'—unsuspectingly, handled by the small coterie of office-holders at Madison and Washington, are able, by the peculiar and efficient working of the primary election law, to select the encumbents of the higher state offices, dictate the making of the laws, say how much money shall be collected from the people in the form of taxes, and for what purposes it shall be expended. This means that an oligarchy of a very few men, the most of whom may not be even state officers, rule the state, and it also means that, to all intents and purposes, at every state election five-sixths of the voters are disenfranchised.

"Mere assertions will not convince you of this almost un-

believable state of affairs that La Folletteism as brought upon our state, and I will give you the proofs. In order to prove to you that the primary election law acts automatically to ensure minority rule; that it works to that end in the hands of its enemies as well as its friends under similar conditions, and that, consequently, it must have been designed for the purpose; that this peculiar action of the law cannot have been accidental, but that it must have been designed for that very purpose by Bob La Follette when he constructed it, so that he and his followers, while constituting but a small fraction of the voters should be able to rule the state; I will give you, from the state records, the history of the first primary election, that of 1906, when Governor Davidson, bitterly opposed by La Follette and his followers, was a candidate for renomination. I. L. Lenroot, the opposing candidate, was backed by La Follette, and the Pompadoured One never worked harder in his political life than he did in the first campaign under the primary election law.

"As returned by the state board of canvassers, there were 206,345 votes cast for the four candidates for governor, in that primary election, divided among the candidates for the four principal political parties. James O. Davidson, having received a majority of the Republican votes, was declared the nominee. By the state census figures there were approximately 638,000 males of voting age in the state in 1906. The 109,583 votes that were cast for Davidson at that primary election of 1906 that gave him the nomination and, under existing political condition, ensured his election as governor, were just about one-sixth of the legal voters in the state; and practically the same figures apply to the other state officers who were nominated and elected on the same Republican ticket.

"The gist of La Follette's contention in support of the

principle of the primary election law is that the selection, the nomination of the men who go before the electorate of the state as the nominees for the different offices at the regular state election is the real, the vital part of the election machinery. Where, in this method of selection of the most important officers of the state, only one-sixth of the voters express their preference for these particular candidates, can it be truly said that they are the people's choice? Should 15 per cent. of the voters be allowed to speak for the other 85 per cent. who do not like that way of selecting their rulers?"

"Well, I must confess that it should not be that way."

"And yet, in spite of the fierce political battle that was on that year, the records show that, out of 638,528 voters in the state, only 206,345 of all parties took enough interest in the matter to vote. This, and the official records of all succeeding primary election, prove, beyond all question, that from four-fifths to five-sixths of the voters will not leave their employment and business to participate in political fights any oftener than they consider necessary. They will turn out for the spring elections and for the regular state and national election in November in fairly good force; but they will not put in a great part of the busiest seasons of the year camping out on the political warpaths at the behests of the politicians.

"This situation was well-known to La Follette; he knew that setting the date of the primary elections in the early fall would mean a very small vote; so small that, with his highly disciplined organization, the ranks of the Republican party split wide open by the factional fight that he had engineered, he would always be able to nominate his men for the offices. Any man who cannot see that does not care to see.

"Things did not work out just as La Follette had expected in that primary election of 1906. His plans were correctly made, all right, as has been shown by succeeding elections under the law; and the reason it failed him that time was due to a couple of breaches of faith on his part.

"James O. Davidson had been a reformer and had held high office long before La Follette butted into the game. He was very strong with his countrymen and, as it was thought he would add strength to the ticket, he was put on as candidate for Lieutenant-Governor at La Follette's urgent request. When La Follette resigned to become Senator, he became Governor by action of law; and La Follette's attempt to side-track him and make Lenroot governor was condemned by many of his (La Follette's) strongest supporters. That was one breach of faith. Then, W. D. Connor, the man who managed and largely financed La Follette's campaigns for four of the most critical years of his political life, had been driven from his side by various acts of bad faith and broken promises when La Follette thought he could get along without him; Connor managed Davidson's campaign; he was, and is the best political manager in the state; and Davidson won by a large majority. 109,583 votes were polled for Davidson, 61,178 for Lenroot. Considering the bitter fight that was on between the two factions, you will not dispute me, Elder, when I say that these 61,178 men who voted for Lenroot did not want Davidson for governor?"

"No, you are probably correct in that."

"At the regular November election following, 135,765 votes were polled for other than the Republican candidates for governor. You will also concede that these voters did not want Davidson for governor?"

"Yes, I will concede that, also."

"109,583 votes cast for Davidson, in the primary of 1910, gave him the nomination and assured his election. At the November election 135,764 votes were cast for other candidates for governor than Davidson; this number of voters, with the 61,178 Lenroot men who, by their votes in September, said they did not want Davidson for governor, foot up to 196,964 anti-Davidson votes cast in the elections that fall. Now, will you kindly tell us, Elder, what there is fair about an election law that can force the people of a state to accept a man for governor when almost two-thirds of those voting protested, in the only way the law allows, against accepting him as their ruler."

"W-hy—I must take time to study the question before I answer. I never looked at it in that way before."

"What applies to governor applies as well to the other state officers, Congressmen, and United States Senator. Your Saint Bob claims the primary election law as his invention. Do you believe that as skilled in all kinds of political contrivances as he is, that he did not know that it would work that way; and that the full and necessary effect of the law in operation would be to give his little faction of the Republican party full control of the state and, incidentally, disenfranchise about five-sixths of the voters?"

"Really, Mr. Sellem, I am not prepared to pass upon that question at this time; but it certainly looks as though he must have known what the full effect of the law must be."

"But there is more yet to this business and worse. In 1906 there were 638,528 males of voting age in the state. Deducting the 109,583 who voted for Davidson from this leaves 528,945 voters who either voted against Davidson or who did not vote at all at the primary election; and practically the same figures apply to the other state officers. So that at that first primary

election under the law about five-sixths of the men in the state of voting age had no affirmative hand in selecting the men who were to rule the state for the next two years. Under such conditions, can you truly say with La Follette: 'The people rule?' "

"As you state the case, it would seem that they do not; and I do not see how to refute your arguments. I need to look up authorities and study the question."

"Certainly, take all the time you need; but the figures I give you are from the Blue Book and official records and you will not be able to get around them. What I am getting at is this: the theory of a republican form of government is that the officers of the state are selected at stated intervals by the votes of a majority of the qualified electors. Am I correct?"

"Yes, that is as I understand it."

"Then under a system in which practically five-sixths of the voters have nothing to say as to who their rulers shall be; who shall make the laws or what the laws shall be; how much shall be collected by taxation and how the money shall be expended, is Wisconsin now under a republican form of government?"

"It would seem that it is not."

"An oligarchy is a state in which the governing power is in the hands of a few men; and, looked at from the point of view of morality as well as from that of the well-being of the people, it is more objectionable even than an absolute monarchy. The despotic ruler is responsible to no one for his acts, and be he good or bad, self-interest will lead him to take fairly good care of the material interests of his people. In an oligarchy, however, where the governing power is in the hands of a few men, the responsibility for the material welfare of the people is entirely lacking; and each member of the oligarchial crowd is

bound to devote the most of his time to feathering his own nest. This leads to extravagance, lavish expenditure of the public funds, with the necessary results of a constantly increasing tax rate. Note the definition of an oligarchy given in Webster's dictionary: 'A form of government in which the supreme power is in the hands of a few men; a state so governed.' Pinned right down to bottom facts, is not that just about what we have in Wisconsin to-day?"

"It comes very near that, I must confess."

"And yet, on the rostrums of the nation, in his La Follette's Weekly, in The Saturday Evening Post, and the other muckrake magazines, Bob La Follette is continually telling the people of the nation that a candidate nominated for office by his primary election law is the people's choice. Next to the curious fact that so many otherwise sharp readers and investigators accept these bare statements, unchallenged and uninvestigated, I wonder at the man's audacity. He must know that some time the truth must be known.

I take the case of Governor Davidson and the primary election of 1906 as an illustration because that was the first election under the law; it was in full operation as La Follette had planned it; and Davidson was bitterly fought by the author of the law and his followers. The result showed that the law is automatic in its operation, working out the same way in the hands of its friends or its enemies. With the law in operation a good orator and skillful politician can create a factional break in the dominant party; build up an organization controlling the stronger faction; and while having in its following no more than one-fifth to one-sixth of the voters of the state, easily get and retain political control.

"Bearing this in mind, you older men will recall that, away

back in the early nineties, Bob La Follette began making a systematic campaign, having for its purpose—as we can now see—the creation of a factional break in the ranks of the Republican party. This is now rather old political history and will not be remembered by the younger men; but they will recall that, of late years, not only has La Follette sternly vetoed every attempt made by Republicans, tired of the factional strife, to re-unite the divided wings of the party; but he has publically proclaimed that, of all things, he wanted no getting together of the divided factions.

"His apparently peculiar stand on this question will be readily understood when we consider that anything tending to lessen or heal the factional breach meant the lessening of his control or the losing of it altogether.

"In view of this, is it too much to say that he has been carrying on a systematic campaign for the stirring up of factional strife in the party all these years with the object of its division into two rival camps; so that he in control of one faction, with his primary election law and its bear-trap action, should be able to rule the state? In the light of recent happenings, and with our growing knowledge of the wonderful gift for political inventions, and his ability to forecast the future, possessed by the Pompadoured One, I think it is very plain that therein lies the cause of all of our party quarrels of the past ten or twelve years.

"While, in all of his allusions to the wing of the Republican party not controlled by him, La Follette goes to the limit of bitterness, towards the Democrats—previous to the primary elections—he uses wheedling tones; calling them 'Fair-minded Democracies' and other nice sounding names, hoping to coax them over into his ranks. Tens of thousands of Democratic

voters who are smart enough and ought to have been able to recognize it as a bunco game of the first class, have 'fallen for it'; and have voted for La Follette and his men at every primary election until they have practically destroyed the once great Democratic party organization in the state.

"In the case of the primary election of 1906, I have shown you how the law worked with La Follette's enemies in control of the state organization; now, by the primary election of 1910, I will show you how it works with La Follette and his followers in control. In this illustration I will use the old, well-known names, Stalwart and Halfbreed to designate the two factional wings of the Republican party.

"At the primary election of 1910, McGovern, Halfbreed candidate for governor, polled 82,265 votes; Fairchild, Stalwart candidate, 55,933. With a normal voting strength of over 176,000, the once great Democratic party of Wisconsin polled only 48,071 votes for its candidate for governor; and except for the campaign work of Democratic candidates for county officers, I doubt if there would have been 5,000 Democratic votes cast in the state in that primary election.

"Do yo consider it a good political condition when the laws of a state are so manipulated by a factional political organization that a great political party, comprising, under normal conditions, nearly one-half of the voters, finds itself so nearly shut out by the election laws from taking any part in the government that rules and taxes them, that its members nearly all decline to take the trouble to vote at a state-wide election?"

"Well, Sellem, allowing that your figures are correct, it does seem that it is not exactly right that it should be that way."

"Under existing conditions, the 82,265 votes cast for McGovern in that primary election of 1910, made his election sure;

the regular Republicans or Stalwarts, who voted against him being the same class as the Democrats—outside the fold. W. H. Lewis, who was running as an independent, but posing as a 'La Follette man,' probably received some Halfbreed votes that would, otherwise, have gone to McGovern; and we will add enough Halfbreed votes from that source to McGovern's to make 85,000. As the fight the Stalwarts under Connor were making for Fairchild made it necessary for the Halfbreeds to vote every man they could, we have in 85,000 the entire voting strength of the La Follette machine. As a candidate for United States Senator La Follette polled 142,978 votes; but the fifty odd thousand votes would be accounted for by his old 'Fair-minded Democratic' friends, as has always been the case when La Follette has been a candidate himself.

"In 1910 there were 683,743 men of voting age in the state. 85,000 from 683,000 leaves 598,000. Now, isn't it queer that these 598,000 men in the state who are not 'La Follette men' should, without protest or action, accept La Follette's dictum and announcement to the world that his little contingent of about 85,000 voters—about fourteen per cent. of the whole—are 'the people'; and that his candidates for state officers, nominated by several thousand less than that number and elected by force of political circumstances, are 'the people's choice?' Will he ever explain that the choice is really made by only about twelve to fourteen per cent. of the people? How long will it be before these 598,000 people in the state who do not sneeze every time Bob La Folltte takes snuff get 'wise' to the situation, see what a gigantic bluff this whole La Follette business is and—call it?

"Out in Oregon, under chief reformer Bourne, they also have the primray election law, together with a few other frills that La Follette has not annexed yet, but he is going to. Same

situation there in regard to a little factional minority of the Republican party running the state. Same thing is going to happen there some time to Jonathan that is going to happen to Bob in the Badger state. They are going to get it under the operation of a wise old law which Lincoln is credited with putting into word form. 'You can fool all of the people some of the time, and some of the people all of the time; but you can't fool all of the people all of the time.'

"Now, Elder, with only 82,265 votes cast for him at that primary election of 1910, and about the same number for his associates on the ticket made rules of the state for the ensuing two years, and the other five hundred odd thousand so cut out by the operation of the election laws that they had nothing to say about the matter, do you continue to claim that we are now living under a Republican form of government in this state?"

"As to that I am not positive. I need time to study on the question."

"If Wisconsin, with its large territory and its population of 2,333,000, were an independent nation, and the laws were such that one-sixth of the population ruled the other five-sixth, how far would it be from an oligarchy, like Russia under the Czar and the Grand Dukes?" Never mind answering that, Elder, that is rather too stiff a one.

"The answer to the question, 'What is the matter with Wisconsin?' can be answered by one word,—La Folletteism. If the 'man from Mars,' hearing the word for the first time, should inquire: 'What is La Folletteism?' the answer would be that it is a state of mind, superinduced by a bluff.

"However, the present condition will not continue indefinitey. Suppose that, in the 1912 campaign, the Democratic party should resurrect from the near death condition to which

it has been reduced by La Follette's 'Fair-minded Democrat' dagger, make a state-wide campaign, with a ticket made up of such a fine body of men as they can easily get with the material they have to draw from; suppose the rank and file should turn out and support the ticket as they used to do before they fell under the wiles of the tempter; and suppose that a few good organizers, from the ranks of the 150,000 disenfranchised Republicans in the state, should line up their fellow political outcasts and show them that the only way to knock out the La Follette outfit and restore popular government to the state would be to all vote the Democratic ticket at the November election.

"And then, suppose the victorious Democrats should follow out the old political doctrine that to the victors belong the spoils, and take everything in sight—not nailed down? What terrible sounds would fill the air. For weeks and months, the wails, shrieks, and groans of 'uplifters' being jerked, pried, wrenched, and otherwise separated from their 'jobs' would well up through the forty miles of atmosphere and roll off in tumultuous waves of agony into the airless space beyond.

"Something like that may happen in the near future, and then the voters of the state will awaken to the fact that is well known now to a few clear-headed, thinking men; that this whole La Follette business, this ruinous domination of our state, by a gang of political highbinders, is nothing more than a gigantic bluff, worked upon them by a highly disciplined organization under a few skillful leaders; the whole comprising no more than one-sixth of the voters of the state.

"There is a sure way to do the trick at the next election, if properly handled. I am not in that line of business, but I will tell you how it can be done. Let the regular Republicans of the

state use their influence to bring out good-level-headed Democratic candidates in all of the senate and assembly districts. Then see that the same kind of men are brought out as candidates for all of the state officers on the Democratic ticket. If that is done, and a little organization work is done, there are at least 75,000 Republicans in the state who will go into the Democratic primaries and vote for the above mentioned Democratic candidates. Of course, as practical politicians never learn that an 'issue' has petered out until it kicks them, there will be a full complement of Democratic candidates, campaigning under La Follette's copyrighted issues; but if the thing is managed the way I outline, pretty near the full ticket all the way through, of the level-headed Democratics will be nominated. Then there will be 75,000, maybe 100,000 of the lonely, disenfranchised Republicans who will vote the Democratic ticket at the November election. That is the way to 'Turn the rascals out.' Will it be done?

"With the primary election law working for them with the dread certainty of a bear trap, one would suppose that La Follette and his 'men' would be content to let it go at that and let the other fellows have the ghostly chance that is left. Hardly. They are so hoggish that they take it all. Even with their perfect organization and discipline, assisted by the machinery of the primary election law, there was just a bare possibility as in 1910 when Tucker, their candidate for attorney-general, committed suicide three days before the election, that the regular Republican candidate for one of the important offices might poll more votes than the La Follette candidate. To cover this possible contingency, La Follette invented the Mary Ann improvement.

"The 'Mary Ann' bill, introduced at the legislative session

of 1907, pushed by La Follette and his followers with all of the force and ability they could muster; beaten by the superior generalship of W. D. Connor; put in the mill again at the session of 1911, and enacted into law because La Follette now gets anything that he wants, is a fit complement of the primary election law. The Mary Ann law provides that, at the primary election, the voter may register his first and second choice for the candidates on the official ballot. On the face of it, this does not seem to be any worse than unnecessary. An analysis of the law, however, shows that, concealed in its complicated provisions, there is, as in all of this La Follette business, a hidden, sinister motive. The 'nigger in the woodpile' of the Mary Ann law is that in case there is danger that some other than the La Follette candidate for office may get a majority of the votes, the thing is fixed so that a party or faction with a good working organization can so manipulate matters that the candidate polling the second highest number of votes may be given the official nomination."

"Mr. Sellem, you are certainly mistaken. Such a thing is absurd."

"I expected to be hearing from you along about here, Elder, but probably every other member of the club also thinks it is absurd. I have here a copy of the Mary Ann, or second choice law, with the official diagrams; I will give you a stated case worked out under the law and leave you to decide as to whether my statement is correct or not.

"For illustration I will use a hypothetical case of the primary election of 1912; using the old names Stalwart and Halfbreed to designate the two wings of the Republican party. We will assume that there will be both Stalwart and Halfbreed candidates for governor. After the thing gets lined up, the

Halfbreed leaders decide that there is danger that the Stalwart candidate for governor may poll a majority of the Republican votes.

"Here is where the beauties of the Mary Ann law admits possibilities for use by the faction of a party in control of a strong workable organization comes in; and without a strong organization under the most perfect discipline, such as La Follette has at his command, the law cannot be sure to work the way its designer intended it to work. You will bear in mind that under the provisions of the original primary election law, the candidate receiving a plurality of the party vote at the primary was declared the nominee, while under the second choice law, it now requires a majority to nominate.

"Ordinarily, with two candidates of the same party in the field, either one of the opposing candidates would consider that he had a better show for the nomination than if there were three or four candidates. Not so under the second choice law, however, it was not made to work that way.

"In this case, scenting danger to their candidate, the Halfbreed leaders put two extra candidates for governor in the field. At times one extra candidate would do to get the proper action under the second choice law; but I will follow the diagram given in the law with four party candidates in the field—one Stalwart and three Halfbreeds. In this case, A. B. will represent the Stalwart candidate, C. D. the Halfbreed candidate, and E. F. and G. H. are dummies, members of the Inner Circle or near to its councils who go in to register second choice votes for C. D., the regular Halfbreed or La Follette candidate.

"After the thing is arranged, word is sent to the precinct bosses all over the state that E. F. and G. H. are dummies, and that the game is to register as many second choice votes for

C. D. as possible. We who know the discipline that exists in the La Follette ranks, know that these orders will be obeyed.

"We will assume that the first choice votes cast at the primary election in question will be as follows:

A. B.	80,000
C. D.	70,000
E. F.	50,000
G. H.	20,000
Total	220,000

first choice votes.

"Under the primary law as it stood in 1910, A. B., having received a plurality of the votes cast, would have been declared the nominee; but the Mary Ann law requires a majority to nominate, which neither candidate has, and there is no nomination; then comes in the thimblerigging of the 'Mary Ann' law's second choice business.

"As it stands on the election sheets provided under the law, the final summary of the votes cast for the several candidates is as follows:

First Choice Votes.		Second Choice Votes.			
		A. B.	C. D.	E. F.	G. H.
A. B.	80,000	.....	20,000	25,000	15,000
C. D.	70,000	10,000	.....	40,000	20,000
E. F.	50,000	10,000	35,000	.....	5,000
G. H.	20,000	5,000	10,000	5,000	.....
Totals..		25,000	65,000	70,000	40,000

"Section 3, Chap. 200, Laws of 1911, provides: 'Each elector shall be entitled to designate on his ballot, in the man-

ner herein provided, the name of his first choice and also the name of his second choice as nominee for each office.'

'The voter shall mark his ballot in the following manner to indicate his first and second choice:

'(1) He shall place a cross (X), or other mark, in the first column after the name of his first choice candidate, and a cross (X), or other mark, in the second column after the name of his second choice candidate. (2) He shall place but one mark in any one designated space. (3) If a voter votes, either in the first or second column, for two persons, such vote shall be counted as a first choice vote for the person whose name appears first in such column, and as a second choice vote for the person voted for whose name appears lower in such column.'

"There is considerable more reading matter in here that is not material to what I am explaining to you, which I will omit and go to section 5 of the chapter, introducing the colored gentlemen in the wood pile.

"Section 5 reads as follows: 'The state and county boards of canvassers shall be guided by the following rules:

'(a) If any candidate for any office receives a majority of the first choice votes, he shall be declared the nominee for such office.

'(b) If no candidate is thus nominated, drop the name of the one having the least number of first choice votes and add the second choice votes cast by his supporters to the first choice votes of the remaining candidates for whom they were cast.

'(c) If no candidate then has a majority, drop from the remaining candidates the one having the least number of votes then to his credit, and add the second choice votes cast by his supporters to the votes of the remaining candidates for whom they were cast.

'(d) Repeat this operation until some candidate has a majority, or until only two candidates remain. The one then having the greatest number of votes to his credit shall be declared nominated.'

"There is a lot more of this stuff, but I have quoted all that applies to the matters in hand.

"Now we will see how the thing works out as provided by the second choice law. Under the laws applicable to a Republican form of government, A. B., who received 80,000 votes, ten thousand more than the next highest candidate, would have been declared the nominee. Figuring, however, under the provisions of the Mary Ann law, A. B. has 80,000 first choice votes, 10,000 second choice votes from men who voted for C. D. as first choice, 10,000 from E. F. and 5,000 from G. H., making a total of 105,000 votes counted for him under the law. C. D., the Halfbreed candidate, second on the first choice list, gets 70,000 first choice votes, 20,000 second choice votes from A. B., 35,000 from E. F., and 10,000 from G. H., a total of 135,000 first and second choice votes. A. B., the Stalwart candidate, though ten thousand more men voted for him as their first choice than did for C. D., is declared beaten and C. D. given the nomination on the strength of the second choice votes gathered in for him by the dummy candidates E. F. and G. H. This neutralization of the real intent of the voters is made possible by the dishonest legerdemain of the 'Mary Ann' law.

"Have you followed me, Elder?"

"Yes, I have followed you, and there is no question that your conclusions are correct, that in a case of that kind under the second choice provisions of the Mary Ann law, the candidate receiving the highest number of first choice votes would lose the nomination."

"It is so plain that no one can help seeing it; and I wonder if you cannot see, also, that the real intent of the Mary Ann law is to make sure the permanent grip of the La Follette machine upon the state. With their perfectly disciplined organization containing about 85,000 'La Follette men,' nearly all of whom have no party attachments but vote as directed, it is only necessary to put up, in addition to their actual candidate, a couple of dummy candidates who are instructed to see that, as far as possible, all who vote for them as their first choice shall give their second choice to C. D., to give C. D. second choice votes enough, in addition to his solid phalanx of 'La Follette men's' votes, to overwhelm any opposition candidate. Do you see that, Elder?"

"I must confess that it looks that way."

"This 'Mary Ann' law is the invention of Bob La Follette; you do not deny that?"

"Here is a case of a candidate for an important public office who is given the highest number of votes by many thousands, and yet is beaten for the nomination by an opposing candidate through the dishonest, thimblerigging methods possible under the second choice law. The way it is figured is this: First, the La Follette candidate, C. D., is backed by a powerful, state-wide and state-supported organization able to give him, on orders, upwards of 70,000 first choice votes. Then there are thousands of men who are not friendly to C. D., will not obey the orders of the organization, but who are friendly to E. F. Properly handled, many thousands of them can be induced to vote for E. F. as their first choice and to cast their second choice votes for C. D. So E. F. is put in as the first dummy candidate to register second choice votes for C. D. This may do the work, but to make sure, G. H., a member of the organiza-

tion, who is popular with a certain nationality, or a certain class, or in a certain section of the state, is put in as the second dummy candidate; and he, also, is to induce his friends to give their second choice votes to C. D.

"That, gentlemen, is the theory of the second choice law, the purpose for which it was devised, and the way it works out in practice. La Follette tells the dear people, and they fondly believe, that he designed the law so as to give them more control over the nomination of candidates for office. So far from that being true, the exact opposite is the purpose for which the law was intended. The second choice law was intended to act as a safety device for his machine when it seemed possible that a party candidate, Republican, unfriendly to him or unamendable to his personal domination might get the party nomination for an important office.

"And to obtain this thing for his own use and that of his personal faction, he forces upon the voters of the state all the vexations, the added expenses of election and canvassing the votes, much more work on the candidates and the probability of expensive contests, carried through all of the primary elections held in the state. And the plain intent of the law is to be on the statute books so it can be used to defeat the will of the majority of the voters whenever he can see a chance to use it to his advantage. How does that look to you, Elder?"

"Well, it certainly looks as though the man who invented the second choice law must have known how it would work. It is too ingenuous to work that way by accident."

"But the man who invented the law, the plain intent and purpose of which is to defeat the expressed will of the voters, is your man with the halo, Robert Marion La Follette. Do you still think he is an honest man?"

"W-hy-er-I prefer not to pursue that subject any farther at this time, if you please."

"All right, Elder. As you all can see, this is only one of the many different possibilities under the second choice law, the plain intent and purpose of which is to make it possible to give the official nomination, not to the candidate polling the highest number of votes, but to the one standing second on the list. With the La Follette organization in control of the party machinery and holding practically all of the state offices, as at present, it is not possible for a candidate for an important office on the Republican ticket to gain the official primary nomination, if opposed by the La Follette organization.

"One would suppose that, having control of the nominating machinery, they would be content to rest there and give the other fellows the one-thousandth chance that, somehow, sometime, one of their elaborately contrived safety provisions might fail to work as planned, and allow an 'outsider' to get in. Their continued successes for a long term of years, in bluffing and fooling the voters, however, seem to have diluted the few drops of sporting blood that some of them must have had in their veins at the start, so that none of it is now perceptable: and the whole La Follette outfit has degenerated into one mammoth, political hog: and they do not propose to allow any one outside of the ranks the smallest chance for a look-in, even. The 'corrupt practices law,' enacted at the last session of the Legislature apparently puts up the last bar necessary to permanently restrain 'outsiders' from poaching on their political preserves—the great state of Wisconsin.

"Chapter 650, laws of 1911, called the Corrupt Practices Act, is very long and bristles with figures so that if any of you want to read it understandingly you want to take a week off;

but there are a few of its provisions that are a plenty for illustration.

"Section 94 of this law reads as follows: 'No disbursements shall be made and no obligations, express or implied, to make such disbursements, shall be incurred by, or in behalf of any candidate for any office under the constitution or laws of this state, or under any ordinance of any town or municipality of this state in his campaign for nomination or election, which shall be in the aggregate in excess of the amounts herein specified, namely:

(1) For United States Senator, seven thousand five hundred dollars.

(2) For Representative in Congress, two thousand five hundred dollars.

(3) For Governor, judge of the supreme court, or state superintendent of schools, five thousand dollars.

(4) For other state officers, two thousand dollars.

(5) For state senator, four hundred dollars.

(6) For member of assembly, one hundred fifty dollars.

(7) For Presidential elector at large, five hundred dollars, and for Presidential elector for any congressional district, one hundred dollars.'

"There are provisions covering all of the minor state and district officials, but these are enough for illustration. Under the law a candidate for United States Senator is not allowed to spend to exceed seven thousand five hundred dollars, including the primary election, November election, and the final legislative campaigns. There are 2,200 election precincts in the state; and for all of this necessary campaign work through two state-wide and one legislative campaign, a candidate for the United States Senate is not allowed to spend to exceed three

dollars and forty cents per precinct. Candidates for governor, judge of the supreme court, and state superintendent of schools may each spend not to exceed $2.27 per voting precinct. Just why they put the amount that a state superintendent of schools may spend in the same class with the governor at $5,000, while candidates for the other state offices may spend only $2,000, is not very plain; but it is likely that, not finding Supt. Cary enough amendable to discipline, the La Follette machine is going after his official head when his present term expires; and, knowing that Cary will fight and that he has a lot of friends in the state, they think it best to provide for spending considerable money to beat him.

"The wrong, utterly absurd provisions of the law are best shown by the fact that, for the two state-wide and one legislative campaigns, a candidate for United States Senator is not allowed to spend enough money to pay for buying, printing, and mailing a postal card to each of the legal voters in the state. The Corrupt Practices Law is for men not in the La Follette organization, for 'outsiders.' The law will not affect the 'La Follette men.' The most of their campaign work will be done by office-holders whose salaries and traveling expenses are paid by the state; and those who are not can be paid by state 'jobs' and positions, manufactured by the Legislature as the business requires. We have now reached a point in Wisconsin where the laws are so framed that the privilege of holding public office is just as certainly restricted to the little coterie of professional politicians comprised in the La Follette machine's Inner Circle, and their followers about the state, as though it were explicitly provided by law that they, and they only, should constitute the office-holding class.

"Not knowing the nature of the animal, one might think

they would be willing to stop there, but not so. Even with the dead cinch they have on the nominating machinery, it is still necessary for the members of the official class to do some political work—calling for the expenditure of some money—in order that the voters may know something of the personal appearance of their rulers. This being the case, following out the general 'progressive' plan of making the taxpayers stand the cost of all political work, the next thing was how to do it in their cases. Here comes in the scheme of the state campaign pamphlet. Whoever invented this ingenius device for unloading the cost of the personal campaign work of the candidates upon the taxpayers, it was first used out in Oregon, Senator Bourne's bailiwick, where in some respects, they have the 'uplift' business worked out finer than in Wisconsin. Probably this is because they did not have the pestiferous Stalwarts to contend with in the earlier years of their 'progressing.'

"This provision for making the taxpayers pay a considerable part of the personal campaign work of the candidates is in Chap. 650, public laws of 1911. The law provides that, previous to the primary election, the Secretary of State shall publish a pamphlet, six by nine inches, in which shall, or may, be given photographs of all the different candidates, from assemblyman to United States Senator, and their statements to the voters. Each assemblyman is allowed one page, all higher candidates, two pages. A nominal charge, based on a sliding scale of prices from $450 for a United States Senator to $20 for an assemblyman, is made for the work. In addition to the statements of the candidates and their photographs, proposed constitutional amendments and referendum laws are to be published in the pamphlet.

"The constitutional amendments and referendum laws can

as well be published in the newspapers of the state, and the political pamphlet is not needed for that work. The real reason for the publication of the pamphlet is to make the taxpayers pay a considerable portion of the campaign expenses of the candidates; first, by advertising at the expense of the state; second, by that section of the law which compels clerks in city and country to send to the state authorities at Madison copies of the poll lists from each spring's election. You who are familiar with political work, when you consider that there are two thousand two hundred voting precincts in the state, can easily see what a great boon it will be to the political gentlemen of the Inner Circle to have the poll lists furnished them from the whole state at the expense of the taxpayers.

"The law provides that the pamphlets shall be six by nine inches in size, that twenty per cent. more of them shall be printed than the total number of voters as shown by the poll lists from the previous spring's elections; and the number of votes polled at any spring election will not be very much less than that of a November election in a presidential year. In the national election of 1908, 454,441 votes were cast for all presidential candidates. As a safe figure we will take 350,000 as the vote polled in the spring election this coming year. 350,000 plus twenty per cent. equals 420,000 the number of pamphlets that must be printed. At three cents per copy—a very low figure—the cost of printing will be $12,600. Adding $4,200, the postage on the 420,000 pamphlets at the lowest possible figure—one cent per copy—gives us $16,800, the lowest possible cost to the taxpayers of the printing and postage of the candidate's advertising pamphlet.

"That is not all, however, 420,000 wrappers will cost considerable money; it will require a large clerical force for several

months to compile the lists of voters and their postoffice addresses from the poll lists, enter them in the department books, address and wrap the 420,000 pamphlets; and keep the necessary books for such an enormous undertaking. I will not try to figure it all out, but it will certainly aggregate well over $25,000; and this large sum, to be paid out every two years, you will please note, is not derived from charity or a fairy godmother, but is all to be paid by the taxpayers of the state.

"One consideration noted is that to carry out the provisions of the law will require a large clerical force for several months each campaign year. These 'jobs' will be parcelled out by the members of the office-holding class among their political workers about the state to pay for political work done during the campaign. No, my friends, the Corrupt Practices Law will not touch them; they do not need to spend any of their own money for political work."

"You are unfair there, Mr. Sellem. Those new official positions will, no doubt, be filled by people selected by civil service examination. That, as you know, will prevent any use being made of them to pay political obligations."

"In answer, I will say that the way many of these civil service examinations are conducted, the number of times that, when the right kind of people do not pass, second examinations are ordered; and the way men and women who pass the examinations finally come out, if not good and true 'La Follette men,' show plainly enough to men who are watching the thing, that the state civil service commission is like all other parts of the state administration, looked at from a political standpoint, is not on the square. Their work is of such a nature, however, all within the organization and hard to watch, that it is impos-

sible for an outsider to know what is going on behind the scenes.

"With the Corrupt Practices Act, the last of a series of laws designed to fasten the grip of their organization upon the state, it would seem that La Follette and his followers consider that they have covered every point needed to fix them in permanent political control of the state.

"There is one thing, however, that they have missed that would have helped them very much at different times in the past, with unlimited possibilities for the future. With all the freak notions they have enacted into laws, I wonder how they missed that.

"There is an old and more or less true saying that there is nothing new under the sun, and the progressive politician of the twentieth century is not the first of his breed—not by several thousand years.

"Nearly twenty-five hundred years ago, Athens, a state of ancient Greece, had an oratorical reformer of the progressive, uplift type, by the name of Clisthenes; and I will call your attention, Elder, to a fact that a man as well read in history as you are must know, that the Greeks of that period were fully equal in general intelligence to the Americans of to-day. In those ancient times, politicians were about as plentiful in the Grecian states as they are in Wisconsin; and, as in Wisconsin, the ancient Grecian political uplifters and reformers were also orators.

"Oratorical reformer Clisthenes established the Athenian Democracy which was, in general construction, a sort of overgrown town meeting. Like our western reformers of high degree, Clisthenes was some orator; and when he tore off his brass collar and tore himself loose on the subject of the wrongs of

the dear common people, there were things doing in ancient Athens.

"Athens had a legislative body corresponding to our state senate that remained in session the year round, and a lower house, something like our assembly, that met forty times a year. With what envy must our Wisconsin Progressive law makers regard these legislators of old who could keep right on making laws from year's end to year's end. I will bet quite a sum, however, that the Athenian legislature never made the record, either in number or volume, of the last Wisconsin legislature of over six hundred and fifty laws in one session.

"After he had the Athenian Democracy established Clisthenes became the undisputed 'boss' of things, just like our Bob; and like him he had a few 'thorns in the flesh,' bearing about the same relation to his party that the Stalwarts do, or did, to the Halfbreeds. These men, like some of our American citizens, could not be made to see that everything was good for the people just because it was new and guaranteed by some silver-tongued orator, and politely requested to be shown. This was all very distasteful to this early Progressive; and he, like our Bob, being able to have any law passed that he required in his business, and being himself, like our Bob, an inventor as well as an orator, he invented the ostracism and caused it to be made into law.

"The ostracism provided that any citizen might go before the Athenian Legislature and, without giving either reason or proof, declare that a certain citizen was dangerous to the state; and the legislature was obliged to ballot upon the proposition of submitting the banishment of the said citizen to popular vote; and if so declared a poll of the city or state of Athens was ordered. The accused was not allowed a trial and he could

make no defense, but if 6,000 votes were cast against him he was banished from the state for ten years and deprived of his citizenship.

"Although history does not so state, no doubt Clisthenes had a personal machine following same as his modern imitator, and that the 'Clisthenes men' did as they were told to do just like the 'La Follette men': so that, with the ostracism in force, if any man of strength or importance did not bow the knee to Clisthenes and his 'isms, or persisted in kicking as to his manner of running the country, all that was needed to do in order to have peace and quietness was to invoke the ostracism election and 'fire' the disturber.

"If they will allow an outsider to suggest a good thing to them, I suggest that, at the next session of their Legislature, our Wisconsin Progressives enact the 'ostracism.' With that in force their work of running the country will be simplified very much. They can banish the obnoxious Stalwarts and possibly save themselves many bad hours and days in the future. If the ostracism had been in force when the 1909 Legislature met, some 'La Follette man' could have appeared before the Senate or Assembly, declared that Wm. H. Hatton was a man dangerous to the state and demanded the vote of the ostracism. If they controlled both branches of the Legislature, as I think they did, an election would have been ordered and Hatton would have been deprived of his citizenship and banished from the state for ten years. Then McGovern or Lenroot could have been elected Senator without fuss or trouble and everything would have been lovely.

"The real danger to the country is not that men of great wealth will get control of the government and use it against the interests of all the people—the muckrake magazines and dema-

gognes to the contrary, notwithstanding; there was never any danger from that source, as the laws are adequate to rectify any real wrongs to the people that may arise in that direction. It may sometimes take a number of years to work out new conditions and unusual contingencies that arise—like the recent activities of the great trusts—but in the end justice will prevail, and any dangers that may threaten will be taken care of by the people by the power vested in them through the law courts and courts of equity.

"The real danger to the country—and it is real and immediate—is from conditions similar to those that exist in Wisconsin to-day, where a small fractional and factional portion of the voters—less than one-sixth to be exact—composed of two elements, one comprising practically all of the office-holders in the state, their personal followers and employes, the other made up of men who are held by demagogic appeals to class hatred—the crystallized mob spirit. These two component parts, held together by the personality of one man, aided by a series of cunningly contrived election laws, are able to rule the other five-sixth. The 'First demagogue then despot' of all historical times is with us, and the immediate danger to our institutions is he, and the organized and perfectly disciplined army of 85,000 voters that he is able to handle as he wills, and vote solid on any proposition whatever.

"At the risk of reiteration until it becomes tiresome, I again call your attention to La Follette's ability to vote his 'La Follette men' practically solid upon any proposition whatever; as witness the solid La Follette vote cast for dead man Tucker at the primary election of 1910. That was a danger signal and we should heed its significance. This much is plain, however, that the 'La Follette men' is an entirely new and unusual political product: a curiosity, 'Neither fish, flesh, nor fowl, nor yet good red herring'; like the X-ray in electrical science—hard to understand, but an established fact."

CHAPTER VI.

Hog-tied.

"I see that Mac has signed the income tax bill and the corrupt practices act, though they who are 'wise' to what is going on knew that he was bound to sign both. That about completes the job, and poor old Wisconsin is hog-tied with the last rope needed to bind her, while a gang of 'uplifters' stands over her flourishing large clubs—the corrupt practices act—admonishing her: 'Ho now, my beauty! Make any but the most lady-like attempts to get untied and we swat you with these nice big clubs!'"

"Why do you use such language about two such praiseworthy laws? The income tax law is certainly in the interest of the common people as it will force the rich to pay nearer their share of the taxes. Is there anything unjust or unfair about that? The corrupt practices law is intended to prevent the expenditure of large sums of money to compass the election to public office of the very rich; as for instance, the large fortune spent by Senator Stephenson in his campaign for Senator in 1908. This law gives the poor man who aspires to public office an equal chance with the rich. What is there wrong about that? It is said there are provisions in the income tax law that may make it unconstitutional. If that is so, the courts will so decide and no harm will be done to any interest."

"There you go again, Elder. It is and always will be impossible for you to see anything wrong in any game, no matter how skinny, that is sugar-coated with a preparation pretending to be good for the poor man. Of course, I do not blame you

for that as it is in line with your profession; but the fact remains that, without meaning to do wrong, men like you are the most efficient aids to unscrupulous and designing politicians. Pretty harsh language—eh? But it is true, nevertheless. It is early yet and I am going to tell the club what I mean by saying that the signing of the two bills in question by Gov. McGovern completes the job of hog-tieing poor old Wisconsin.

"Previous to 1901 state and business matters were in good shape in Wisconsin. There will always be some complaints with the way the other fellows run things, and we have always had more or less of that. On the whole, however, as large a percentage of the citizens were satisfied as have ever been since. There were only enough state employes to attend to the necessary state business. The scheme of creating thousands of state offices to furnish places for the personal followers of a political boss, while it may have been thought of, it certainly was never practiced. Business was good; men were well employed at good wages, and there was general prosperity.

"There were state elections but once in two years, and they did not disrupt the general business for half of the year or more and cost the taxpayer several hundred thousand dollars for each election as now. There were then two political parties in the state, the Democratic party and the Republican party. The measure of strength between the two was so evenly balanced that, while usually in the majority, the Republican party had warrent enough to be very careful in its conduct of the state's affairs.

"Candidates for public office paid their own campaign expenses; such a thing as making the taxpayers pay them had never been even suggested. I doubt if even La Follette thought of the scheme on the scale that it is worked now until he saw

how his inventions of game wardens, oil and factory inspectors, and other new brands of state office-holders worked to help his political fortunes. When he saw what a vast amount of political work could be done with his men with which he filled these new offices, and not only how little attention was paid by the mass of voters as to what was going on; but how nearly impossible it was to make them believe that any crooked work at all was being done, he began to look forward to making a far greater use of such a good thing, and the state commissions were his next inventions.

"The men elected to the higher state offices in former times were equal in ability to those who have served under the Bob La Follette regime; and the members of the Senate and Assembly were, in business and intellectual ability, far above the La Follette legislators of recent memory. Of course, there were always some men there who were looking more or less after their own interests the same as now; there always will be; but they were few in either house. There never was a time in the history of the legislatures of those days when a majority of both houses had to wait for the boss or one of his lieutenants to give the word each day before they could go on with important business pending as has been the case in recent sessions of the Legislature.

"Present political conditions are so well known to all present that it will be merely necessary to outline what is going on under La Follette's administration. There are now two state elections every two years, with their consequent expense and disturbance to business where before there was but one; and with the new 'uplift' trio initiative—referendum—recall grafted on our political system, there is no estimating how many elections per year the future holds for us.

"We know that the employes of the state have been increased by many thousands, but I cannot give you the figures on that, except approximately, as it is hard for an outsider to get at the facts in the case. Outside of the great increase in others of the state funds, the general fund or ordinary running expenses of the state increased from $2,633,192.85 for the year 1900, to $6,434,097.06 for the year 1910; an increase of $3,800,904.21 per year while, by the Federal census of 1910, in that time the population only increased twelve and eight-tenths of one per cent.—barely one-eighth increase. Just what the La Follette men running the state did with that almost four million dollars that they spent in a year more than was spent in the last year of Governor Schofield's administration, with practically the same population, I would like them to rise and explain.

"In the last few years there have been a few hundred thousand dollars per year spent on the new Capitol building and the state institutions will naturally be costing more than they formerly did; but the greater part of this vast increase in the state's expenses has been due to the enormous increase in the official force and the incidental expenses connected with the great army of state employes.

"Though the increase noted above is alarming, only a beginning was made in that first ten years of reforming in the process of transferring the money of the taxpayers from their pockets to the pockets of the 'La Follette men.' From the figures obtainable from the state departments for 1911, and the appropriations made by the Legislature at the last session, the state's expenses for 1912 will aggregate more than twelve million dollars. Think of that, you men who pay taxes, for you all have to pay your due share of all this increase.

"This same Legislature of appropriation memory, also made laws covering about every private and business relation of life of the private citizen; and some of these laws enacted are almost exact copies of laws of the monarchial nations of Europe that practically drove some of the members of this club from their old homes. Incidentally, that same Legislature passed laws providing for hundreds, nay, thousands of additional state employes, raising the salaries of state officials and—providing means of raising money by taxation to pay the additional cost: sure—they didn't forget that. Laws, Laws, Laws! more than six hundred and fifty laws passed in that one session.

"The worst work of the 1911 Legislature is the income tax law, and the iniquity of it should make those responsible for it hide their heads in shame. What was the reason for it, the need of it? Why the La Follette men, running the state, are spending money so fast that they had about exhausted every other means of taxation and it was necessary for them to resort to new methods of raising money.

"To try to justify this new tax enormity they are now citing us the income tax systems of the monarchial countries of Europe. There with a large proportion of the population without property and too poor to pay any considerable tax, the burdens of royalty and great standing armies must be met by taxation. Why should Wisconsin, only one of the many states of which this nation is composed, for purposes of taxation, be compared to the monarchial countries of Europe? It shows the trend of their thoughts, however, as La Follette and the Inner Circle consider that they are permanently settled as the rulers of the state. In effect they are, and if the Bourne bill, now pending in Congress, be enacted into law, and the initiative—referendum—recall be adopted in Wisconsin, we will be un-

der the permanent rule of an oligarchy very similar in organization to the C'zar and Grand Duke oligarchy that rules Russia.

"In order to bolster up the fortunes of the members of a conscienousless, gigantic organization, shall we, citizens of the free State of Wisconsin, in free America, take this long step backwards and submit to this, the most distasteful of all forms of taxation? At this late day in the centuries, shall we submit to a law that pokes itself into the private business of every citizen of the state?"

"Probably we will, as we pay and kick not no matter what they pass out to us; and through its two great political organizations, Van Hise with his University and La Follette with his grand army of state employes, the Great Combine is gradually but surely strengthening its strangle hold on the state. And as their last move to date, they are now putting in force here the most obnoxious of the taxing methods in force in the monarchial countries of Europe.

"We are told that, though we may not like the income tax law at first, we will not mind it after we get used to it. Reminds me of the fish-woman and her eels. Eels, you know, have to be skinned before they are cooked. This old fish-woman kept her eels alive in a tank and when she made a sale she fished them out and skinned them alive before delivering them to the purchaser. A bystander, watching her at the work, asked her if she did not think it cruel.—'O no,' she replied, 'I have skinned 'em so long they have got used to it.'

"The official noses of the income tax assessors will go around poking themselves into every man's private business affairs; and though not every one will have to pay a tax, every man with a yearly income of $500 or more must give an itemized statement under oath of all his sources of income and,

virtually, an itemized statement of all the money he paid out for the year—for what purposes the money was spent. And by virtue of this statement, he is obliged to make all of his private business affairs public property; for that part of the law requiring secrecy on the part of the income tax returns will be a dead letter before the law has been in force two years. If at any time an income tax assessor takes it upon himself to think that the citizen, in making his return, has not given up everything, he has the authority of the state to compel him to dig up and show him every item of his private business affairs. If he does not do this, the assessor can fix the amount of the tax at any figure that he sees fit.

"The thing is so un-American, so contrary to our traditions, to our national dislike to public espionage into our private affairs, that even in their frantic search for further means of taxation, I wonder the La Follette men dare enact such a law. But the necessity for devising further means for financing the La Follette-McGovern presidential campaign of 1912 was pressing them: Senator Stephenson had declined to put up the $250,000 fund for the campaign that they had asked him for; and they have had such success in fooling the people in the past with their old wolf-cry, 'the corporations,' that they seem to feel safe in putting up this new taxing device."

"I think, Mr. Sellem, that an income tax is not such a bad thing. Other nations have income tax laws. The United States had an income tax during the civil war."

"You said 'other nations,' Elder; but Wisconsin is not a nation, only a small division of a nation; though like some of the Old World nations it is under one-man rule. The United States did have an income tax during the Civil War—a necessary war revenue measure; but it worked badly, even then,

was never fully enforced, practically ignored within a short time after its enactment, and repealed soon after the close of the war. Under the Constitution the nation cannot levy a direct tax; and even if the present attempt to amend the Constitution so as to allow an income tax does not succeed, the constant reduction in tariff rates may make an income tax necessary in the near future. When that time comes the people will submit to it cheerfully as necessary to provide revenue to pay the Nation's expenses; but there can be no excuse for a state income tax.

"Wisconsin has no standing army, no navy, no expensive diplomatic relations abroad to keep up, no pension list, none of the many calls for money that, of necessity, take many millions from the National treasury each year. With only the state's institutions to keep up, the number of employes of the state reduced to what are actually needed in the various departments—the surplus departments and commissions lopped off—the simplest rules of ordinary business practice applied to the state's business, the ordinary sources of revenue would be a couple of millions more than the expenses.

"But what is the use of talking? Next year the army of graduates from Van Hise's Spellbinder factory will spread over the state; La Follette's Weekly and the country weeklies will get into action; a noisy cannonade of words will be opened up on the corporations; the tom-toms will be beaten; and the dear common people will be so taken up again with the shooting, the shouting, and the drumming that they will, as usual, fail to note the presence of the light-fingered gentry in the crowd.

"Now, just what I mean by the homely old phrase 'hog-tied,' tied so securely that it is impossible to get loose, is this: By their cunningly contrived primary election law with the

recent Mary Ann amendment, their many state commissions, boards, bureaus, and other means of keeping thousands of their workers on the state's pay rolls, their most perfectly disciplined political organization of history; and now the Corrupt Practices Act that practically shuts the door of opportunity against all who desire to enter the public service who are not favored by the La Follette organization, they have a strangle hold on the political and official systems of Wisconsin that it will be next to impossible to break.

"The main part of the La Follette machine, the rock foundation upon which it is built, is the primary election law. Theoretically, under the law, the voters go to the polls and, by parties, select their candidates for all of the offices from the county offices to the highest offices in the gift of the state. Actually—the way it worksout in practice—the only candidates who stand any show for the nominations for the higher offices are those who have the backing of the La Follette organization. Either that or a candidate for any of the higher state offices must spend a vast amount of money, with the probability that he will fail even then. Now the corrupt practices law shuts that off and the only candidate who can possibly get the nomination at the primary election is the 'La Follette man.' And the 'La Follette men' in the state do not now, and never have numbered one-sixth of the voters.

"The political situation was much like, but somewhat different in the time of the Stephenson, Hatton, McGovern, Cook senatorial campaign of 1908; the campaign when La Follette, having full control of the situation and able to place the nomination where he willed, was constrained to allow it to go to Senator Stephenson."

"In order to have the primary election law do the work it

was designed to do, it is necessary to have a state-wide organization of many men bound together by ties of common self-interest. La Follette so planned his organization that practically its entire cost of construction and operation is paid by public taxation; and the money drawn from this source is distributed to the La Follette machine through the medium of a great and constantly increasing army of state employes. The scheme of distribution, the methods by which the money of the taxpayers is transferred from their pockets to those of the 'La Follette men,' all by due process of law, is very ingenious; and only a great political inventor could have devised it. As to which of the two, La Follette or Van Hise, is the inventor, opinions differ.

"In order to make the thing as plain as possible, I will take up the events of the last political year, as they are all fresh in your memories. In the primary campaign of 1910, the first move made by the Inner Circle, the managing body of the organization, was to construct the principal planks of the party platform."

"You are certainly wrong there, Mr. Sellem. The primary election law provides that the party platform shall be made by a convention of the successful candidates after—not before—the primary election."

"The procedure provided by law is as you state, Mr. Webber, nevertheless the important planks of the Republican party platform of 1910 were made before the primary election and the procedure of their making was not as provided by law.

"Long before the September primary election, the important planks were decided upon by the Inner Circle. If you study the platform of that year, you will notice that, except a few unimportant 'claims' and 'demands,' all of the planks call

for the enactment of laws that will largely increase the number of employes, add hundreds of thousands dollars to the running expenses of the state; and, in the corrupt practices law, practically shut out of holding office, all except those who are favored by the La Follette organization.

"The primary election law was the first, and the Mary Ann, or second choice law, with the corrupt practices law, the last of a series of laws designed to enable La Follette and his followers to obtain and permanently retain control of the state; and with their state supported organization, successful opposition within the party seems to be out of the question.

"By the selection of an astute and experienced business man as manager of his campaign, and the use of a very large sum of money—making it possible to create a strong working organization in a comparatively short time—Senator Stephenson polled a vote at the primary election of 1908 the size of which rather astonished the La Follette people. Though they knew he was to get the nomination, the run that he made was so much better than they thought possible that they saw the possibilities of danger to their machine in the future from men with large wealth who would refuse to abide by the rules of the game prescribed by lawgiver La Follette. They are taking no chances, hence the corrupt practices law, designed to shut out all except the followers of the machine.

"The La Follette organization is in absolute political control of Wisconsin. All of the higher offices are held by members of the Inner Circle, and through the general plan of creating new commissions and boards of different kinds at every session of the Legislature, they are constantly adding to the strength of their organization; binding their followers to them personally

by the strongest of all ties between man and man, ties of mutual financial interest.

"As some of you may not know just what the corrupt practices law is, I will explain it briefly. Under its provisions, during any one campaign, no candidate for public office shall spend in excess of certain specified amounts for each office, running from $7,500 for a candidate for United States Senator down to $150 for a candidate for the assembly. The law provides explicitly just the things for which money may be spent and the penalties for the violations of any of its provisions are severe.

"Now you may be beginning to see how ingeniously contrived to ensure permanent control of the state to the La Follette machine is the whole series of 'progressive' laws, the primary election law, the Mary Ann law, and the long series of laws designed to multiply the great army of state employes, thereby making the taxpayers pay for the upkeep of the organization; and on to the corrupt practices law designed to confine the office-holding class to the ranks of the 'La Follette men.'

"To the shame of many thousands of the members of the once great Democratic party of the state, they are helping the conspirators at every election—assisting to tie the cords that bind the giant; and in doing this, they are, at every election, making it more and more difficult for the Democratic party to ever be anything but a lackey and a roper-in for Bob La Follette.

"The La Follette men call themselves 'Progressives.' Do you know what the real meaning of that word, 'progressive,' is in this connection? No? Then I will tell you. Its true definition is the progressive assimilation by a tight political clique of the political liberties of the people. That is the meaning of the word and the movement; and it is being engineered

by a man with an ambition as boundless as that of Napoleon Bonaparte; a man who, like Bonaparte, would not hesitate to sacrifice any man or any number of men if, by so doing, he would advance his political fortunes.

"Men, familiar with political work, know that by far the most effective work in vote getting is by personal solicitation. Speech-making, newspaper work, and magazine articles help; but in the end it is the personal equation that brings in the big tallys. Like a giant octopus, the La Follette organization reaches out its tentacles into every voting precinct; there are 'workers' enough to see every voter in any twenty-four hours; and as practically all of the running expenses of the organization are paid by the state, except by the rare combination of great organizing ability backed by immense financial resources, successful opposition is out of the question; and now the corrupt practices law shuts the door against that chance of relief. No such dibolically ingenious scheme for binding the people of a state or nation in permanent political bondage was ever devised before. No wonder the 'uplift' statesmen in other states look upon La Follette as a man great enough to be President.

"The primary election law provides that the winning candidates of each party at the primary election shall meet in convention at Madison, about Sept. 20th, and adopt the party platform and declaration of principles under which the regular election campaign shall be conducted. Right here I wish to remark that as a device for perpetuating the rule of a political machine and ensuring the continual reign of a party boss, there was never a more ingenious scheme than this provision in regard to the construction of the party platform. It has 'heads I win, tails you lose,' and loaded dice beaten a mile, and then some."

"I think you are decidedly unfair there, Sellem. Who are better qualified to make the party platform than the representatives of the people, nominated by the ballot for the campaign? What better way can there be of ascertaining their wishes?"

"It looks that way to you, Elder; it does to many people who do not know what is going on behind doors and partitions where the big chiefs are making war medicine. As you will never know unless some outsider tell you, I will enlighten you as to the inside workings of 'The Successful Candidate's Platform Convention.'

"The method of constructing the Republican platform of 1910 was as follows: Long before the date of the convention, the Inner Circle had decided upon the principal planks; what 'demands' for new election laws, additional laws with commission attachments, and the other measures needed to strengthen the Organization for the campaign of 1912; and how to provide the additional revenue needed to take care of the large increase in the state's running expenses that the proposed big increase in employes and governmental machinery would entail. They also had to decide as to what the political fashions would be in 1912, and what laws they should have the Legislature pass in 1911.

"Coupled with the perfect organization and discipline of the La Follette machine, the machinery of the primary election law—of which the candidate's platform convention is an important part—is so cunningly contrived that any sort or kind of 'demands' that may be put in the platform may be easily complied with by appropriate legislation, any promises may be kept; and the Inner Circle can come back at objectors with 'The people demanded the laws.'

"For sheer ingenuity, the combination beats any and all other political contrivances. With it La Follette busted the Republican party, reduced the Democratic party to the 'cold corpse' condition, attained high office, gained much Chautauquain celebrity and many Chautauquain dollars; and fooled the voters and taxpayers of the state to willingly contribute several million dollars a year to support his machine.

"But to go on with the platform convention: The platform committee receives the draft of the important planks from the Inner Circle through the little window, inserts a few unimportant ones for filling, makes other motions like real platform building; and hands the draft of the platform? over to the convention. There, the controlling majority, knowing what they have to do, go through the form of having several considerable scraps over the wording or construction of some unessential points, so the dear people at home will learn through the papers that something like a real platform convention is going on; then a few 'We point with pride's' and a few extra 'demands' are inserted; and the platform as prepared by the Inner Circle is adopted by the convention.

"There will always be some candidates who are not posted as to the etiquette of Progressive platform building; and there are likely to be a few others who 'know the ropes' who, while having a general idea as to what is going on 'in behind there,' really think they ought to have some voice in the construction of the important planks of the platform. These may, at times, enliven the otherwise cut-and-dried proceedings somewhat, but their numbers will be small and the discipline of the organization is so perfect that they cannot affect the general result.

"The party bosses now claim as a clinching argument why the various 'demands' and 'promises' incorporated into the

party platform of 1910 must be enacted into laws by the Legislature of 1911: 'The people demanded them.' Reminds me of the story of Mr. Henry. At a political meeting the speakers were much disturbed by a man who called constantly for a Mr. Henry. Whenever a new speaker came on, this man bawled out: 'Henry! Henry! I call for Mr. Henry!' After several interruptions of this kind, a very young man ascended the platform and began to speak, when again came the call for Mr. Henry. The chairman now arose and remarked that it would oblige the audience if the gentleman would refrain from further calls as Mr. Henry was now speaking. 'Is that Mr. Henry?' cried the disturber of the meeting. 'Why, that's the little cuss that told me to holler!'

"And yet they tell us that the people demanded these laws; that they demanded an income tax. Do you gentlemen know of any man who is demanding to be allowed to pay more taxes than he is paying now? A number of you farmers have incomes high enough so that you will have to pay, under the law; and I have heard the most of you complain that your taxes are too high already. After you have paid your town, county, and regular state taxes, do you want to have an income tax assessor to come around, armed with the authority of the state to make you dig up some more money for taxes? If you deny that you are liable for an income tax and he declines to take your word for it—as he probably will—do you want him, a stranger, to dig into all of your private, personal and business affairs; force you to make a sworn statement as to where every dollar came from that you got possession of during the previous year; and how it was spent? If you do not do this, or if you do not do it in the way that he is satisfied with, he has the authority of the state to place your income, for purposes of taxation, at any

figure that he may please; and your only remedy will be a law suit against the state. How do you like that—you poor downtrodden farmers? That indignity is put upon you that a few thousand more 'jobs' may be provided for the followers of Prophet Bob."

"We will not like it, but I suppose we will have to stand it."

"Yes, Mr. Webber, you will have to stand it and more if this thing is to continue. They are making so many laws curtailing the liberty of the individual and making the state the great, overshadowing thing that it is in monarchial countries; enacting so many repressive laws bearing upon the freedom of action of the individual, making conditions almost exactly as they are in the most repressive of the monarchial nations of Europe, that I am surprised that natives of those countries, now citizens of Wisconsin, do not see the similarity, note the tendency, and take alarm. The income tax law is one of those imported laws. Double taxation, expressly prohibited by the Constitution of the United States, is another; though in this case it is allied with the income tax law.

"How much did your new house cost you, Mr. Webber?"

"It cost me something over $5,000."

"Suppose you rented it, how much would it rent for?"

"I do not know, exactly; probably thirty dollars per month."

"You pay taxes on that house?"

"Certainly, I pay taxes on all my property."

"So you do; but when the income tax assessor comes around, he will size up that house, decide how much it would rent for per year, perhaps $400; and he will add that amount to your in-

come from other sources to arrive at the amount he will assess you under the terms of the income tax law."

"Yes, I knew it was something of that kind and I think it an outrage."

"It is that and more; but what are you going to do about it? Some will kick, but kicking will do no good. It would seem, however, that the people of Wisconsin should have taken note of the strangle hold the La Follette machine has on the state from what happened in 1910, when Tucker, La Follette candidate for attorney-general committed suicide three days before the primary election. Probably within twenty-four hours of his death nearly every voter in the state knew that he was dead; and yet, so perfect is the discipline of the organization that instructions sent out to the precinct managers to vote their men for Tucker resulted in polling practically the whole La Follette vote for the dead man.

"That a great political organization, controlling nearly eighty-five thousand votes, should be able to poll practically its whole vote for a dead man, and that for a candidate for one of the most important of the state offices, should awaken the thinking of the state to the dangers of the one-man rule under which they are now living. The situation reminds me of the story of 'What happened to Ole.'

"Called into court as a witness in a damage suit against a railroad company, Hans Hansen proved to be a hard witness. After trying for some time without success to get a connected story of the affair from him, the judge suggested he be allowed to tell the story in his own way; which was agreed to. Told to go ahead, Hans delivered himself of the following:

" 'Me and Ole was walkin' along the railroad when I heard a whistle behind me and got off the track. When the train

went by I got on the track again, but I didn't see nothin' of Ole. Then I walked along and bym-by I seen Ole's hat, and then one of his arms, and a little farther along one of his legs, then the other leg and the other arm; and then over on the other side of the track I seen Ole's head; and said I: 'My Heavens, something muster happened to Ole!'

"When, at the command of a political boss or his lieutenants, a majority of the voting members of the once great Republican party of Wisconsin, blindly and unthinkingly cast their votes for a dead man, and that the candidate for one of the most important offices in the state, it would seem—referring to the electorate—that 'Something muster happened to Ole!' **That is not party fealty; it is slavish, un-American servalty to one man—that is La Folletteism.**"

CHAPTER VII.

"Governor Bob,"—Herbert Quick.

"I see that cute little cuss, Robert Marion La Follette, has put another one over on the dear old Quaker lady, The Saturday Evening Post. Second time lately that Bob has told the old lady a fairy story—and made her believe it. She is very old—quite a lot over one hundred years—and I would not think Bob would fool an old person that way."

"O well, Sellem, if you have picked up something on this trip that has not yet reached this backwoods town, spit it out."

"Why, I had in mind an article and some pictures in The Saturday Evening Post of September 23rd, No. 13—both numbers of ill luck and ill omen you will notice—about Bob La Follette as a grizzly bear hunter, garbed in a dress that makes him look so fierce. One of the pictures shows him as a bear hunter and another as a horny-handed son of toil, riding a disk harrow. The first picture nails the bear hunter vote for him and the second the votes of those who habitually ride disk harrows; and he certainly lays it over on William Howard Taft there. Taft might, under favorable conditions, hunt bears; but he never, never could ride a disk harrow. What I am getting at is the story that Quick and La Follette tell to the Evening Post readers in that Number 13 of September 23rd.

"For the evening's lesson, I am going to review this article on Governor Bob by Herbert Quick; and I am not going to ask you to take my word for things, as I can prove all my statements by public state records. I will state as preliminary to

the argument that Quick's article is pretty near a plain lie from beginning to end.

"After using considerable space in regard to matters that are not of any particular consequence, under the head of 'The Passing of the Pass,' Quick says: 'His first brick was the anti-pass demand. The country has caught up with La Follette in that as in most things that he has demanded; but when his faction proposed a law against the giving and acceptance of free transportation on the railroads, it was looked upon as the idea of a dreamer, a visionary, a demagogue; but Wisconsin got her anti-pass law.' That is the way Quick puts it in this Saturday Evening Post article and, as he and La Follette are old-time friends, there is no doubt that he got this information from or through him. Now, as shown by the public state records, what are the plain facts in the case?

"For years while Bob La Follette was hardly heard of on the subject, in the Assembly, session after session, A. R. Hall was fighting against the railroad domination of the state, calling attention to the pass abuse and demanding an anti-pass law. In messages to the Legislature, Governor Schofield, a stalwart of the Stalwarts, called for the Legislature to submit to the people an anti-pass amendment to the state constitution. Acting upon these suggestions an anti-pass amendment was enacted by the Legislature in 1899, the year before La Follette became governor, passed again in 1901, as required by the constitution; and, being submitted to a referendum vote, was carried and became a part of the organic law of the state.

"As a constitutional provision is not a law, but a right conferred upon the Legislature to make a law, or a prohibition, in order to take advantage of the new anti-pass amendment, legislative action was necessary; and this was done, of course,

after La Follette became governor. Of all things La Follette has no right to claim credit for the anti-pass law, except that it was enacted after he became governor.

"If any of you gentlemen care to look up the matter of the anti-pass amendment to the state constitution, you will find the first law in chapter 357, laws of 1899, and its second passage by the Legislature in chapter 437, laws of 1901. Look up these two laws and then read Quick's article in The Saturday Evening Post of Sept. 23rd, 1911, bearing in mind that La Follette or his friends must have given him the information.

"Again on page 5, Quick says: 'Governor Bob, along with the anti-pass law, put in the statutes the law for the state tax commission. The people could read in their tax receipts the benefit of the work of Governor Bob; and the corporations, which had been making their own entries in the tax rolls, could read theirs in the just burdens which they had escaped so long by the use of the pass and the dominition of the caucus and the convention.'

" 'The La Follette passion for the facts ruled in the enactment of the state tax commission law, however, as we find it ruling in all his public acts. A demagogue is always a spoilsman—for spoils only will remunerate demagogy. If Bob had been a demagogue he would have asked for a law which would have enabled him to hold up public utilities for campaign funds in return for immunity from taxation. **But he asked for** and got a permanent tax commission.'

"Fix in your minds how that reads, gentlemen, and then note the facts in the case as they stand in the public records of the state.

"It had long been generally known by most public men in the state that a tax commission—some body of competent men

to deal with the tax question—was needed; and for years prominent men in both public and private life had advocated laws establishing such a commission. The subject had been before the legislatures in different forms at nearly every session for a long time; and Governor Schofield, in his message to the Legislature in 1897, recommended a law for a state tax commission. Early in that session, a bill providing for such a commission was introduced and ably championed by Senator John M. Whitehead, one of the terrible Stalwarts, whose name was formerly used by good La Follette mamas with which to scare their naughty children into being good. This bill became a law—chapter 340, laws of 1897.

"As you would expect to be the case, this first tax commission law, being in the nature of an experiment, was not perfect, the members of the commission received no pay for their services, and their work was largely in the nature of an investigation. Acting upon the information furnished by this first tax commission, in his message to the Legislature in 1899, Gov. Schofield recommended laws, which were enacted, strengthening the commission and making it a permanent state institution. The tax question was so complicated that the laws had to be changed and improved at future sessions of the Legislature; and as La Follette became governor in 1901, any later work on the subject had to be done under his administration.

"Now what do you think of the honesty of a man who, to help his political fortunes, will claim as his the work of other men done before his time? No doubt Quick got his information from La Follette himself, or from some 'La Follette man'; but the article went out to more than a million readers of The Saturday Evening Post: and, as far as I have seen or heard, no correction has ever been made.

"Then Quick takes up the Railway Rate Commission Law after the following manner: 'Rates must be regulated—that was certain; but how? The answer was peculiarly La Folletteian. It was a demand for the facts. A demagogue would have rushed before the people with some plan for instant recognition by statute; but La Follette first found that the decisions of the Wisconsin courts secured to the people the right to regulate rates within reasonable limits; and then decided that the proper agency by which to do this was a permanent, nonpartisan commission of experts, who would study the question, find out where the reasonable limit lay, and act only when they knew.'

"'That sounds nice and conservative. It places Bob right in the company of the safe and sane without question. The real facts, in regard to the building of that Railway Commission Law are entirely different; and they do not leave La Follette in the same company by quite a lot—by the difference between the 'safe and sane' and the broncho busting, business wrecking Texas statesman of recent memory.

"'In regard to the appointment of the first members of the Railway Commission, Quick says: * * * 'Or at the very least he would have promoted his field-marshals to the offices. La Follette, instead, gave the state a splendid railway commission law, and appointed B. H. Meyers, a university professor, then studying the railway question in Europe, and now transferred by President Taft to the Interstate Commerce Commission; Halford Erickson, a statistician who had been a railroad auditor; and John Barnes, since elevated to the supreme bench of the state, a lawyer skilled in public utility law—a dignified, learned body of men, with the La Follette passion for the fact.'

"So much for Quick's tales. Now bear his story in mind

while I relate to you the building of the Railway Commission Law, and the appointment of the first members of the Commission.

"As it was generally understood that the Senate Railway Committee of the legislative session of 1905 would have the task assigned to it of preparing a railway commission law, attention was directed to the men selected for that committee. Senator W. H. Hatton of New London was appointed chairman, and, from the make-up of the committee, it was generally considered that good, safe men would have charge of the work of constructing a railway commission law that all parties were now pretty well agreed was desirable. The Senate Railway Committee was dominated by Halfbreeds, but they were not the 'La Follette man' type that dominates the Senate at the present time. Hatton, Hudnall, Wipperman, Stout, and others were in the work from principle, and they took orders from no man when they once decided where their duty lay.

"There were, however, several of the members of that Senate Railway Committee who were of the regular 'La Follette man' type, and to these La Follette made known his wishes in regard to the make-up of the proposed railway commission law. He had a copy of the Texas railway commission law and to these men he said that the Texas law suited him, exactly, and he wanted it copied for the Wisconsin law.

"The Texas law, as it was in 1905, was the worst work that could be done by a lot of corporation-phobia afflicted visionists, a business assassinator, bad enough even for Texas, with its small railway mileage, its manufacturing and industrial systems, outside of ranching and farming, less than that in one county of Wisconsin; and its thinly settled territory as large as an empire. What do you think would have been the effect

of such a law, administered by La Follette, upon business in Wisconsin, with her vast, complex, industrial system, and her great railway mileage? It would have been a business wrecker of the worst kind.

"La Follette demanded that the Senate Railway Committee make the Wisconsin law a copy of the Texas law, or as nearly so as differing territorial conditions would allow; place all of the vast lumbering, mining, manufacturing, and other industries—and the railroads; their interests all intertwined as all great industries always are in thickly populated manufacturing states, at the absolute mercy and control of one man—Bob La Follette. He had full control in the Assembly and a bill, which was practically a copy of the Texas law, was introduced there, passed and sent over to the Senate.

"Things were different in the Senate, however, and the Texas law did not go. The Wisconsin Senate of 1905 was composed of men of different intellectual caliber from those of the Senate of 1911. At that time the many strong men who had become identified with the progressive movement in its earlier years had not, as at the present time, been driven out by treachery, or left it in disgust; and there were quite a number of them in the Senate of 1905. These only smiled at the demands of the imperious dictator in the governor's chair, shelved the Assembly bill, and went ahead to shape a railway commission law for Wisconsin.

"Among the solid, sincere progressives in that Senate of 1905 were Wm. H. Hatton, Geo. B. Hudnall, J. H. Stout, H. C. Wipperman, and a number of others who are not now progressing the 'La Follette man' way.

"It was a hard task that the Senate Railway Committee had in hand that winter. There was an able, Stalwart contingent

in the Senate, and an effective, progressive bill, in order to be passed, must be conservative enough to command quite a number of Stalwart votes.

"Though an ardent Progressive, Senator Hatton was known by his Stalwart colleagues to be a man of high personal honor and business integrity; an able business man of large experience; and a man who, while not naturally of a very combative disposition, would be as firm as a rock on any position when he knew that he was right. On the Railway Committee with Senator Hatton were several other Progressives who would certainly refuse to obey La Follette's commands when they ran counter to the interests of the people of the state.

"It took months of heart-breaking labor to work the Railway Commission Bill to the state of perfection in which it was finally passed, and as finished, it was practically all the work of the Senate Railway Committee. Though he now claims it as his work, hardly any of La Follette's handiwork appears in it. As finally perfected, much of the bill was not satisfactory to the Stalwart Senators; but they were all committed to some form of railway regulation and, relying upon La Follette's promise to appoint none but good, competent men on the Commission, the bill passed and became a law.

"To execute its provisions, the law provided for three Commissioners to be appointed by the governor subject to confirmation by the Senate. Depending on La Follette's promise that he would appoint none but competent men on the Commission, not much concern was felt as to who the Commissioners might be. Some time had elapsed after the bill passed before the Senators knew whom La Follette intended to appoint. Then it leaked out that Nels P. Haugen was to be one of the Commissioners—Nels P. Haugen, whose principal qualifications for high office

were his readiness to obey the orders of La Follette and his ability to deliver, at any time or place, large blocks of Scandinavian votes.

"Still relying on La Follette's promise, the members of the Railway Committee discredited the rumor, but for some time they were unable to ascertain whether it was true or false. Finally a written memorandum of La Follette's appointments to the Commission was sent over to the Senate and read by the clerk. The names were Nels P. Haugen, B. H. Meyer, Halford Erickson. Hatton, Hudnall, Stout, Wipperman, the really strong Senators in the Halfbreed ranks, faced their Stalwart colleagues with white, drawn faces; and for a moment the scene was highly dramatic. The Stalwarts, surprised, angry, with the words, 'We have been tricked, fooled,' trembling on their lips; the Halfbreeds, the looks of dismay on their faces rapidly changing to rising anger.

" 'Is this for what we have put in so many toilsome days and sleepless nights?' they said. 'Relying upon La Follette's promise that he would appoint none but competent men on the Commission and then be handed—Nels P. Haugen?'

"The Stalwart Senators saw that there had been no treachery in the Senate ranks, at least: and there was a rapid assembling to discuss the unexpected situation—which was about as follows: It had been thought that Prof. Meyer would be one member of the Commission and there was no objection to him. With two strong men for the other members, Halford Erickson would not have been objectionable; but being a devoted follower of La Follette, with Haugen as the second member, the situation would be that the Railway Commission would be simply a medium for registering the will of Bob La Follette. Though splendidly equipped for the position, Prof. Meyer

would be only a figurehead—one against two, and his appointment was plainly made to disarm criticism.

"This being the situation, the decision of a majority of the Senators was that they would refuse to confirm Haugen as a member of the Commission. Either another, a suitable man, or no Commission. This dictum was communicated to 'Governor Bob,' and you can imagine the stunts those 'kindly blue-gray eyes' did when he was apprised of the mandate of the Senate.

"Well, there was a deadlock that seemed likely to be permanent. To give up Haugen would knock some of La Follette's political plans for the future into smithereens, and he hung on to Nels. The Senators would not yield and there they stuck. Finally, tired of the delay, and determined to do their duty regardless of the wishes or displeasures of the self-appointed boss, the Railway Committee decided themselves to select a man for the third member of the Commission. It was hard to find the right man and get him to accept, but after considerable hard work in overcoming his repugnance to giving up his lucrative law practice for such a thankless job, John Barnes, a Democratic, and one of the best equipped men in the state for the position, was finally persuaded to accept.

"That done, the next thing was for some one to undertake the most risky job of all and 'Go tell it to Caesar.' This fell to the lot of Senator Hatton, who went to La Follette and informed him that it was John Barnes for the third member or no Commission. Of course, with all the things those 'kindly blue-gray eyes,' 'with the cold fire back of them' might do to him was this a dangerous undertaking; but Senator Hatton is a large, tall man with a Roman nose, and he did the job.

"That, gentlemen, is the true history of the making of the Railway Commission Law, and the way the first members of the

Commission were selected. Now read what La Follette claims for himself in the matter, as given in The Saturday Evening Post and the other muckrake magazines, and note how his stories match up with the facts in the case.

"That was not quite the end of the matter with Senator Hatton, however, as the reason why he was not given the nomination for United States Senator in the primary election of 1908 was that in this, as in divers other times and places, he had refused to obey the string communicated impulses; and, therefore, he was not a good 'La Follette man.'

"In the face of these facts in regard to the making of the Railway Commission Law and the selection of the first members of the Commission, how does the following sound, from Quick's article on pages 6 and 56. 'A demagogue, invested as governor with the power of appointing such commission, would have traded the personal of the commission for the allegiance of the corporations, or he would have appointed spoilsmen as his agents to wring contributions from the corporations; or, at the very least, he would have promoted his political field-marshalls to the offices. La Follette, instead, gave the state a splendid corrupt practices act (railway commission law), and appointed B. H. Meyer, a university professor, then studying the railway question in Europe, and now transferred by President Taft to the Interstate Commerce Commission; Halford Erickson, a statistician, who had been a railroad auditor; and John Barnes, since elevated to the Supreme Bench of the state, a lawyer, skilled in public utility law—a dignified, learned, careful body of men, with the La Follette passion for the fact.' In the face of the facts, how does that sound? In this paragraph, Quick says 'corrupt practices act,' where he plainly means the railway commission law.

"Again on page 6, he says: 'The people of the state like the law. That is one of the reasons why Senator La Follette, with the massed millions of the melon-cutting gentry against him, and with no money of his own, carried every congressional district, every senatorial district, every assembly district, every county, and nineteen out of every twenty precincts in the state. The people have tried La Folletteism and found it statesmanship.

"That was a nice send-off all right; that was what Quick was hired for, only it isn't so. Facts, analyzed, sometimes do funny things to flights of eloquence. Let's see how this works out.

"By the United States census reports, there were 683,743 males of voting age in the state in April, 1910. Some of these were not voters, but not very many. If we call the number of actual voters 650,000, we have made all due allowance for unnaturalized foreigners and other persons of voting age who, for various reasons, were not entitled to vote. As a candidate for United States Senator in the primary election of that year, La Follette was given 142,978 votes; so that, at a critical period in his career, when his senatorial job was in danger, only a little more than one-fifth of the voters of the state, of all parties, were concerned enough about Bob's political future to take the trouble to vote for him. Certainly fifty thousand, probably more, of the votes that La Follette polled in that primary election of 1910 were cast by his old 'fair-minded Democratic' friends.

"I read Quick's article all through, carefully, expecting that he would give La Follette the credit for the two cent per mile railroad fare law, as he gives him credit for everything else. That affair, however, was probably considered of too recent

occurrance for the people to have forgotten about it. If it had been a few years earlier, he would, no doubt, have claimed credit for that, also.

"Deducting the state tax commission law, the anti-pass amendment to the constitution, the railway commission law, also the two cent fare law, from the many things that La Follette claims to have done for the people of the state in the twelve years that he has been turning the whole commonwealth into a political circus, an experimental laboratory, driving from the state many millions of capital that are badly needed for the development of our splendid natural resources; and keeping many millions of outside capital out that would otherwise be coming in for investment, and what is left to his credit. The Elder does not look to be in an argumentative mood just now, so I presume there is no answer?

"Do any of you gentlemen believe that what the state has derived from these past twelve years of La Folletteism is worth anywhere near what it has cost? Can you point to anything in the way of public improvements or material advantages that will compensate for the many millions of dollars wrung from the taxpayers by the present La Follette administration in excess of what would have been the cost under an economical administration of state affairs as conducted previous to La Follette and reform?

"Without a close analysis of Quick's article, one wonders what it is all about, anyway. Reading it closely, however,—between the lines—taking into account presidential expectation necessities, and it is seen that the article is intended as a sort of reassuring lullaby, played with the soft pedal, to assure the conservative, inquiring people of the nation that the supposed wild man, Robert Marion La Follette, when closely examined,

is not wild at all but, on the contrary, is as gentle as a cooing dove, 'safe and sane' to the uttermost limit. But knowing there are so many people in Wisconsin who know all about the whole business, I wonder that they would dare to take such liberties with the facts.

"The thing in a nutshell is this: La Follette is a born actor and can be any and all things with apparent sincerity. In the earlier years of his political career, as under prevailing political conditions, it seemed best to be that way, he walked the steady cool pace with the most conservative of the old-line politicians. Failing, in that company, to get what he was after, he allowed his pompadour to grow and raved up and down the land, tearing the air, tearing off his collars, bidding for the votes of those who could be attracted to him by such political gymnastics. Now in his race for the presidency, thinking that his past performances may be against him, he thinks it best to advertise that it was all a mistaken conception of him; that he is not really the wild man that he once tried to make people think he was."

CHAPTER VIII.

Miscellany.

"Ever see La Follette's apostrophe to 'the common people'? No? Then you've missed one of the finest things in the English language. Brace yourselves and I will recite it.

'O ye dear common people, purveyors of votes and offices, how I love you! You have raised me to a high pedestal from which I can see, on clear nights, though afar off, the lights gleaming from the White House windows. You have made of me a star attraction of the Chautauquain lecture platform where I can easily garner in my $150 to $200 per day, senatorial duties or no senatorial duties. You murmur not as you dig down deep into your pockets for cash to pay taxes to provide high salaries and munificient expense accounts for my high commissioners, low commissioners, sub-commissioners, special commissioners, game wardens, oil and any other old brand of inspectors; and in fact all of the many thousands of my personal henchmen scattered about in every neck-of-woods in my dear Wisconsin. You dig up and pay with equal willingness, whether for $2.50 per diem game wardens, expensing at $1 a day backwoods hostelries, or my $5,000 a year commissioners faring sumptuously at $5 per day metropolitan hotels—plus palace cars, automobiles, and other accompaniments and evidences of great wealth.

'I love you because you are so easy. You are a continual picnic and an everlasting joy. You dig up and pay, pay, pay! and ask nothing of me but the motions I make and my words, words, words! and unless the motor backfires and gives this old

earth a jolt and spills you all off into the milky way, where neither the sound of my voice nor the dear old Saturday Evening Post can reach you, you are likely to continue to be a good thing till the Judgment Day.'

"Now I call that good: quite literary, you see. Bob always was strong on the literary, or anything with words in it."

"You surely do not mean to tell us, Mr. Sellem, that Senator La Follette ever made any such talk as that?"

"Why not? Does not that about express the situation?"

"O, I see what you are driving at. You are making game of the devotion of the common people to the Senator because he is their champion. Well, you will have your fun, but Senator La Follette is, and always will be, very dear to the common people."

"Well, that depends. When he can no longer use them, his now very dear and useful friends, the common people, may get what others of his erstwhile friends have gotten in the past.

"In previous years of his political career, La Follette had many good friends possessed of wealth, ability, and political influence—all of which they placed at his service to advance his political fortunes. They raised him to his present high station: and yet, when he had used them all that he could, he turned on them and has since treated them as though they had always been his worst enemies. The columns of the magazines and newspapers of recent years furnish plenty of evidence that there are no limits to which he and his followers will not go to villify and abuse these men who were his very dear and helpful friends in his not distant, needy political past. His now very dear and useful friends, the common people, may get theirs yet. As to that, we are all common people: and the devices and phrases

used by political agitators to set one class of American citizens against another should have no place in our politics.

"Now I will tell you what happened to some of 'God's patient poor,' the poorest of all poor men, the poor Indians, whom La Follette used for his purposes as long as it paid him to do so—and then dropped them; and now their cries for help, smoking to the skies, touch him not. They had served the purpose for which he called them up.—'Avant, yet you gone!'

"The most of you know something of the Menominee Indian Reservation and the great wealth of pine and other timber standing there. Under the supervision of the Interior Department, the Indians had been cutting a stated quantity of the timber each winter, banking the logs on the Wolf and Oconto Rivers. After due advertising, these logs were sold to the highest bidders; going mostly to saw mill owners at Oconto and Oshkosh. For the last few years of their logging, the prices paid for the Indian logs were several dollars a thousand more than they would have brought at private sale. As high as seventeen dollars per thousand feet was paid for the whole Wolf River cut one year—an unheard of price at that time.

"Under this plan, after deducting the cost of logging and other expenses, a certain portion was paid over to the Indians who did the logging and the balance was held by the Interior Department to the credit of the tribe. When La Follette butted into the Indian question, the balance held by the Department to the credit of the Indians was $2,948,223.80—practically three millions.

"Now there were at Oshkosh a number of men of the class that you have all heard La Follette rail against—the 'lumber barons.' They had been friends of Senator Sawyer and, as such, were sure to be disliked by Bob. As saw mill owners, they

were buying the Indian logs at the highest possible prices; but there was, of course, a presumption that they were making a profit from the transaction; and to cut off the Indian logs would injure their business. Then again, he had been able to exploit a large proportion of the poor men in the state who wore white skins, and why should the poor red man escape.

"Then the trouble commenced. La Follette introduced a bill in the Senate providing that the Interior Department take charge of the Menominee timber, build a saw mill on the Reservation, log and saw the timber and sell it, employing Indians to do the work. He pushed the bill with all of the eloquence of which he was capable; declaimed as to how the poor Indians were at the mercy of the fierce lumber barons: and how much better it would be for them to do all of the work themselves and reap all of the profits.

"Well, the bill became a law and the mill was built, operations commencing October 1st, 1907. On that date, the amount of cash held by the Interior Department to the credit of the Menominee Indian tribal fund was, $2,948,223.80. Dec. 1st, 1911, after four years of logging and saw milling operations, this had been reduced to $1,644,698.78, a net loss in cash of $1,303,525.02, in the four year's work. The Department reports that, up to that date, they had cut approximately 78,000,000 feet of standing timber, of a stumpage value of six dollars per thousand, a total of $468,000. This, added to $1,303,525.02, the cash expended in the four years, foots up to $1,771,525.02, the amount in cash and value in timber stumpage that the Neopit lumbering and milling outfit used up in the four years of operation.

"The Department reports show that, on October 1st, 1911, there was manufactured stock on hand to the amount of

36,455,835 feet, upon which a value of $16.51 per thousand feet was placed. A large part of this, however, was lumber of the lower grades, much of it hemlock, some of it from that first year's cut that was, through mismanagement, allowed to practically spoil in the log; but which is being carried on the books as merchantable stock. Experienced lumber buyers who have lately looked over the lumber in the Neopit yards say that $12 per thousand would be a big price to pay for the stock. In the inventory, the Department places a value of $602,021.01 on the stock of lumber in the yards Oct. 1st, 1911, but $425,000 would have been a large figure for it.

"The Department values the saw mill plant at $349,913.13, but that is away off the mark. The main saw mill is a large frame structure, covered and roofed with corrugated steel. The machinery in the main mill consists of two band mills, a band re-saw, and the regular equipment of an up-to-date saw mill. There is a lath mill and a shingle mill of the common type. There is also a detached planing mill with the ordinary amount of machinery and the necessary dry sheds.

"A practical saw mill man can build the whole plant complete, including the dam on the Red River, built to make storage for logs, for not to exceed $150,000. They have a short logging railroad, two geared engines, and the necessary logging cars. Figuring these at a liberal price for reproduction, $250,000 is a high valuation for the whole Neopit saw mill plant, including mills, dams, railroad, rolling stock, buildings, and everything. This, added to the value of the manufactured lumber on hand at date of inventory, totals $675,000, the value of everything left to the Menominee Indians to balance their loss in cash and timber stumpage in the four years of operations of the Neopit plant.

"On Oct. 1st, 1911, then, the balance sheet of the poor Menominee Indians—a section of 'God's patient poor'—in account with Bob La Follette, stood about as follows:

Cash on deposit with the Department of the Interior, Oct. 1st, 1907	$2,948,223.80
Interest at five per cent. for four years	589,644.76
Stumpage on 78,000,000 feet of standing timber cut at $6 per thousand feet	468,000.00
Total debit, Oct. 1st, 1911	$4,005,868.56
Credits.	
Cash on hand with the Department Oct. 1st, 1911.	$1,644,698.78
Value of mills and logging outfit Oct. 1st, 1911	250,000.00
Manufactured lumber on hand Oct. 1st, 1911	425,000.00
Total credits	$2,319,698.78
Total credits carried forward	$2,319,698.78
Net loss to the Menominee Indians in four years	$1,686,169.78

"This is what La Follette's championship of the cause of the poor Menominee Indians cost them in the first four years, and the end is not yet.

"Even one of the principal reasons advanced by their champion? why the lumber should be manufactured on the Reservation—the employment of the Indians in the work—failed of its ostensible object, as the department reports show that only 33⅓ of the labor is performed by the Indians. When the Indians did the logging and sold their logs to the regular saw

mill men, practically all of the logging was done by Indian labor.

"We who know the man know that it was with no desire to benefit them that he took up the cause of the Indians; but that it was a purely vote getting, spite proposition with him. And what of the poor Indians? Their great wealth of timber is being cut and worse than wasted; their cash on hand is being thrown away; and in a few years both cash and timber will be gone.

"Knowing how it is going, the Indians have been trying to have the cruel waste stopped; but their efforts will amount to nothing. About two years ago, a committee from the Senate, of which La Follette and his 'uplift' crony, Senator Clapp of Minnesota, were two of the three members, went to the Menominee Reservation to 'investigate' the complaints of the Indians. Of course, any committee dominated by La Follette would not see anything, and this committee didn't. The waste of the Indian's cash and timber goes merrily on, and La Follette is free to devote his voice and pen to the championship of such others of 'God's patient poor' as have not yet got theirs.

"Is the fast approaching timberless and cashless condition of the poor Menominees agitating Bob Lafollette's double-duplex, inside connected word and tear fonts to the point of bubbling over? Not a tear, not a word, not a bubble. Notice Bob entering the arena lately in behalf of poor Lo of the Wolf River Valley? Seen any leading articles in The Saturday Evening Post about their condition? Has La Follette's Weekly written it up? Not a word from any of the usual sources that keep us informed of the tearful concern of the 'uplifters' for the woes of the 'common people.'

"Poor Indian Lo of the Menominee Reservation—fast be-

coming a plutocrat cutting his timber and selling the logs to the lumber barons—has been used for the purpose for which he was called up; and the incident is closed. La Follette's tearful and wordful appeals to the nation to save the poor Indian's timber had, many times, split the atmosphere above the Capitol clear through, forty miles, to the superencumbent ether beyond; but now he knows the poor Indian nor his woes no more."

Milwaukee, Wis., Sept. 15th. 1915.

"Mr. A. Webber,

Wayback, Wis.

"Dear Mr. Webber:—

"Since I quit the road and went into the house three years ago, I have never had the pleasure of meeting you; though I have often thought of you and the others, and the pleasant times we used to have in the Wayback Club in Jackson's store 'saving the country.' I have noticed, however, that political matters worked out very much as we decided they would.

"I wonder if you saw a certain article in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 10th, by an annonymous writer, in regard to some inside history of that 1912 presidential campaign? This writer, who is evidently sure of his facts, after describing the utter collapse of the bull moose business in the closing weeks of the campaign, tells of happenings that are of very great interest to Wisconsin people.

"In brief, the writer says that there was no misunderstanding between La Follette and McGovern over the Roosevelt presidential candidacy matter; that La Follette, being on good terms with Roosevelt and the other high Progressives, through his wonderful gift of political foresight, saw what was going to happen. He had learned that the plan was to send in a large number of contesting delegates to the Chicago Convention, just as he (La Follette) did in the 1904 Wisconsin Convention; and knew that, unlike on the latter occasion, the regular Republicans would control the national committee. This meant that the Roosevelt contesting delegates would be thrown out, that

Taft would be nominated and that Roosevelt would bolt and form a third party.

"With the backing he had, Roosevelt was quite sure to put his third party tickets in every state, and that spelled danger to their control of Wisconsin.

"You will never catch Bob napping on any proposition of that kind and so the plan was formed for McGovern to go to the Chicago Convention, play tag with the Roosevelt people, as the occasion offered, and with the help of others of the La Follette forces, try to play the game so as to keep Roosevelt from putting a third party state ticket in the field in Wisconsin. The writer says that Henry Cochems was likely a sure enough bolter, but that all of the rest of the La Follette men who followed McGovern in his apparent slump to the bull moose were simply playing the game.

"The thing sounds so much like the deal they put up in the 1908 primary election to beat Hatton out of the nomination for United States Senator, that it is very likely to be as stated. Kinder queer, though, that Mac was always picked for the goat.

Very Sincerely Yours,

SAM SELLEM."

APPENDIX.

George Washington and Benjamin Franklin Foresaw Present Day Political Movements.

"In these troublesome times, when the country is facing what may be a complete revolution in our system of government; when the fundamental principles, the stability of our time-tried institutions are threatened by the wanton attacks of unscrupulous and ambitious demagogues posing as friends of the common people, the words of warning spoken by two of the men who had the most to do with building the Nation, spoken on important occasions, sound as though, with prophetic ken, they looked ahead through the mists of more than a hundred years and foresaw the very dangers through which the country is passing at the present time.

On pages 92-3 of Madison's journal of the Constitutional Convention, a portion of a speech made before the Convention by Benjamin Franklin reads as follows:

" 'Sir, there are two passions which have a powerful influence on the affairs of men. These are ambition and avarice; love of power and love of money. Separately, each of these has a great force in prompting men to action; but when united in view of the same object, they have in many minds the most violent effect. * * * **And of what kind are the men who will strive for this profitable pre-eminence, through the hostile cabal, the heat of contention, the infinite abuse of parties, tearing to pieces the best of characters?** It will not be the wise and the moderate, the lovers of peace and good order, the men fitted for the trust. **It will be the bold and violent, the men of strong**

passions and indefatigable activity in their selfish pursuits. These will thrust themselves into the government and be your rulers. * * *

"There is scarce a king in a hundred who would not, if he could, follow the example of Pharoah, get, first of all, the people's money, then all their lands, and then make them and their children servants forever.

"It will be said that we do not propose to have kings. I know it, but there is a natural inclination to a kingly government. It sometimes relieves them from an aristocratic government. They had rather have one king than 500. It gives more the appearance of equality among citizens; and they like it. I am apprehensive, therefore, perhaps too apprehensive, that the government of these states may, in the future, end in a monarchy. But this catastrophe I think may be delayed if, in our proposed system, we do not sow the seeds of contention, faction, and tumult, by making our positions of honor places of profit.' "

Washington Feared a Dictator.

The following, from George Washington's farewell address, was prophetic of the present so-called progressive movement:

" 'Towards the preservation of our government and the permanence of our present happy estate, it is requisite, not only that you speedily discontinue irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of INNOVATION upon its principles, however specious its pretexts. ONE METHOD OF ASSAULT MAY BE TO EFFECT, IN THE FORMS OF THE CONSTITUTION, ALTERATIONS WHICH WILL IMPAIR THE ENERGY OF THE

SYSTEM; AND THUS TO UNDERMINE WHAT CANNOT BE DIRECTLY OVERTHROWN. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of existing institutions of a country; **that facility to change, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion.'** ''

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